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THE SHIAH SAINTS

Orthodox Islam has always strongly disapproved of pictures in general, and in particular of the pictorial representation of any of its prophets and saints. No graven image or likeness of any living thing is found in early Moslem art. In architecture we find no statues but only arabesque. The Koran is never illustrated and picture-books for children are an innovation that still savors of heresy. Mohammed cursed the painter or drawer of men and animals, (Mishkat, Book 12, chapter I) and consequently they are held to be unlawful. To this day, fanatic Moslems resent any so-called portraits of the Prophet found in Western books. A Hindu publisher and his assistant in a bookshop in Calcutta were recently murdered in cold blood by two young Moslems as a protest against the insertion of a picture of Mohammed in a text-book which had been approved for the use of students. The irony of the situation was revealed at the trial, for it was proved that the Hindu publisher had merely reproduced a picture made by a Moslem artist some centuries ago.[1]

The history of Moslem art in Persia, however, offers many examples of paintings representing Mohammed as an apostle, his supposed miraculous ascent to Heaven, and some natural scenes in his life. Our frontispiece is a reproduction of a picture p''rchased at Kermanshah in 1926. It represents four saints of the Shiah world. In

1 Correspondent in *News and Notes*, Lahore.

the center is seen 'Ali, the son-in-law of the Prophet and the fourth Caliph, with his two sons, Hasan and Husain, seated at his feet. In the upper left hand corner is the picture of Moulana al Haji Qambar, a favorite servant of 'Ali, who is said to have sung his funeral dirge. 'Ali grasps his famous sword, and above his head is the Arabic inscription "There is no hero like 'Ali, and no sword like Dhu-al-Faqar." Two angelic figures are imparting the divine effulgence or light of Mohammed to the group. This *nur Mohammed* existed before the creation of Adam and it is the token of divine favor given to succeeding saints. The same symbol occurs above the heads of his two sons, on the right Husain, designated "the wonderful martyr," and on the left Hasan, who has the epithet of "the chosen one." The aureole or nimbus that appears in the picture above 'Ali, is also a token of sainthood. It was probably borrowed from Christian art, although in common use elsewhere before the Christians began to use it about the fifth century. On Indian and Bactrian coins and representations of the gods, the halo or aureole occurs as early as 58 B. C. to 41 A. D., and its use has even been traced through Egypt to the Greeks and Romans.[2]

In this number of our Quarterly there is an article on the 'Ali-Ilahi sect, who hold the incarnation of the divinity in the person of 'Ali, and another on the spiritual poems of the Bektashi derwishes. These Sufis agree in many points of doctrine with the 'Ali-Ilahi sect.[3] It is therefore of interest to note the importance of saint-worship in Shiah Islam, although it is prevalent everywhere among Sunnis as well. Every neighborhood in the world of Islam has its patron saint. There are also those who belong to the universal community rather than to the special shrine where they are honored. To this class belong the Prophet, the first three Khalifas and Khidr, but especially 'Ali and his two sons. The orthodox teach that what is offered to a saint is not worship: "There is no

2 Lord Lindsay—"Sketches of the History of Christian Art," Vol. I, p. 10.
3 Cf. Article on *Bektash* in the Encyclopedia of Islam.

god but God." Yet, they all recognize intercession on the part of these saints, and the vast majority of unthinking Moslems make the saint an object of adoration and a source of blessing. The Shiahs especially are enthusiastic worshippers of their saints. The whole Shiah movement gathers around the idea of "a holy family" and their sufferings and martyrdom.

The early martyrs of Islam, 'Ali and Husain, acquired an added lustre from the fact that they were men of martial quality. 'Ali is always represented with his sword. The tomb of Husain at Kerbela and that of 'Ali at Nejf are not only places of pilgrimage, but have become the center of vast cemeteries. The bodies of thousands of persons from distant places repose in peace under the protection of these saints. Every year, in every Shiah community, the tragedy of Kerbela is re-enacted by the Miracle Play of Hasan and Husain, with passionate devotion and wild ecstasy, in the month of Muharram.[4]

The Shiahs attribute to 'Ali the three-fold character of Imam, Warrior and Saint. He is called Haidar Allah, (The Lion of God), King of Saints, Friend (Weli) of God, etc. Hundreds of legends and miracles make him the hero and he is the most powerful intercessor, the real Savior of mankind.

In India, even more than in Persia, 'Ali worship reaches its climax. Educated Moslems write tributes to 'Ali and Husain in which the former is placed above our Lord Jesus Christ Himself, and the latter is styled "The World's Greatest Martyr."

> " 'Ali Thou art the rarest gem
> That the world has ever seen;
> Thou art the embodiment great
> Of godliness, beauty and love." [5]

Another book entitled "The Golden Deeds of Imam Husain" and issued by the Provincial Shia Conference of Patna on the occasion of the annual Muharram festival

4 Colonel Sir Lewis Pelly—"The Miracle Play of Hasan and Husain," 2 volumes, London, 1879.

5 " 'Ali the Caliph" by Muhammad Ali Al Haj Salmin, Bangalore, 1931, p. 376.

(1930) contains fourteen tributes to the memory of Husain the great martyr of Kerbela.[6] The writers are all of them distinguished Mohammedans in India. They speak of his place in the history of Islam, his moral teachings, and his achievements for humanity. Let these quotations suffice to indicate the character of this hero-worship and the extent to which Moslems go in praise of Husain:

"The sacrifice of Imam Husain looked at from the moral point of view offers no parallel either in the richness of its spiritual value or the heroic spectacle of resistance of evils offered under conditions of hopeless inequality. Socrates quaffing his cup of hemlock while chatting cheerfully with his friends, or Jesus crying 'Eli, Eli, lama Sabachthani' while mounting the cross, pale into insignificance when compared with the glory of Husain in his martyrdom."

"Jesus has been accepted as a Prophet by non-Christians and as incarnation (son of God) by the Christians. Why so? Because he lived for mankind, suffered for mankind and died for mankind. Thus judged by such a standard and criterion of morality it should be seen what claim Imam Husain has on the judgment of the living generation.

"Here it has to be realized in its true perspective, the true meaning and significance of the martyrdom of the great and illustrious martyr of Kerbela. Undoubtedly Christ did not resist the attacks of his enemies while Imam Husain had to resist the onslaughts of his foes, namely, the soldiery of Yazid. But the main issue should not be allowed to be confused with the side issue. . . . The great and noble self-sacrifice of Christ is undoubtedly and unquestionably marvellous. But it should not be lost sight of that he was alone, while the self-sacrifice of Imam Husain was in the midst of his relations and sons who were mercilessly slain before his eyes on the battle-field of Kerbela."

What should be the Christian attitude to such passionate devotion as we witness toward Mohammed, 'Ali and Husain? The expression it received in Henry Martyn's day, offended him. "I was cut to the soul at this blasphemy," he wrote, when Christ was made subservient to the Arabian Prophet in a Persian poem.

"Mirza Sayyid Ali perceived that I was considerably disordered, and was sorry for having repeated the verse, but asked what it was that was so offensive. I told him that I could not endure existence if Jesus was not glorified; it would be hell to me if He were to be always thus dishonoured. He was astonished, and again asked why. 'If anyone pluck out your eyes,' I replied, 'there is no say-

6 The Provincial Shia Conference of Patna announces that it will celebrate the 1290th year of the Martyrdom of Husain with a Special Memorial Volume in May, 1932.

ing *why* you feel pain; it is feeling. It is because I am one with Christ that I am thus dreadfully wounded.' On his again apologising, I told him that I rejoiced at what had happened, inasmuch as it made me feel nearer the Lord than ever. It is when the head or heart is struck, that every member feels its membership."

Have we lost this sense of deep humiliation when our Saviour is put on a level with Moslem-saints? A more important question is, how can this saint-worship of the Moslem be transferred to Jesus our Lord? How can we win such earnest souls to a new allegiance and to higher ideals? The growing Church in Persia is an answer to these questions.

Henry Martyn saw the vision afar off. A few weeks before his death (1812) he wrote from Tabriz, "The way of the Kings of the East is preparing. The Persians also will probably take the lead in the march to Zion, as they are ripe for revolution in religion as well as in politics."

Princeton, N. J. S. M. ZWEMER.

THE NEW PERSIAN CHURCH

The new church in Persia is showing every sign of a normal healthy growth. For years it seemed to be making no progress, but in reality it was slowly but surely overcoming some of the greatest obstacles a new church has ever faced. In a completely intolerant Moslem environment it seemed a hopeless task ever to gather together enough really sincere converts to form Christian congregations. But that preliminary stage is now past forever and all over Persia thriving churches have been firmly established. Along with these have come, on the part of Persians generally, a tolerance and a desire to know the truth which have amazed even the most optimistic of those acquainted with the history of missions in Moslem lands. There now seems to be no obstacle to a great advance on the part of the Persian church, and the church itself is sensing its responsibility and opportunities and is enthusiastic about its future. Throughout the country it feels itself to be a unit, though no national organization has yet been formed, and therefore considers it of supreme importance to hold regular conferences representative of the whole church. The latest of these conferences was notable enough to be brought to the attention of anyone interested in missions to Moslems.

The third inter-church conference of all the evangelical Christian churches of Persia was held in Teheran, August 19–27, 1931. Invitations were sent to all organized churches and to missionaries working in places where churches have not yet been formed. Nineteen churches sent delegates, only two being unable to do so. Unorganized groups of Christians in two other cities were invited and one of them sent a delegate, the other being compelled

to decline. Regrets and cordial good wishes were also received from four missionaries not representing the two larger societies at work in Persia, the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America in the north, and in the south the Church Missionary Society of the Church of England.

From cities outside Teheran ninety-five delegates attended the conference, of whom sixty-six were Persians and twenty-nine were missionaries. They represented churches in fifteen cities. From the two churches in Teheran one hundred fifty-one persons attended part or all of the conference. The attendance of all delegates averaged about one hundred forty to one hundred fifty at each conference session.

The regular sessions of the conference were held in the main building of the American College. The conference was planned as a spiritual one resembling Northfield or Keswick, and business matters were kept to a minimum in regular conference sessions. There was, however, an executive committee of thirty-one members, a large majority of whom were Persians, which held a number of special sessions and discussed many matters of a business nature, reporting at the close of the conference. This conference differed from previous ones in that its elected officers and the officers of the executive committee were all Persians.

The whole membership of the conference attended one of the four daily Bible classes, two for older and younger men, one for women, and one for missionaries. Though Persian men and women were separated in these classes, the veil was practically discarded by the women in the conference as a whole, and in seating and in fellowship there was complete freedom from the seclusion which women in Persia have endured for thirteen centuries.

The daily program included platform meetings with addresses by missionaries and Persian leaders, Bible study, and full reports from every organized church in

Persia. Half of the addresses were by Persians, some of them eloquent messages full of spiritual power. The subjects were chosen with the needs of the church in mind and were in two series, as follows:

I. *Great Principles of Christianity*
   1 God is Our Father
   2 True Worship is Spiritual Worship
   3 Salvation through Faith
   4 Victorious Life through the Power of the Holy Spirit
   5 The Supremacy of Truth
   6 Our Attitude towards Opponents
   7 Love and Service to Others

II. *Christianity for the Persian Church*
   1 The Lordship of Christ
   2 The Gospel and the World
   3 The Gospel and Persia—the Duty of the Church
   4 " " " " —the Duty of Individuals
   5 The Gospel and Children
   6 The Christian Life
   7 Personal Consecration

The spiritual climax of the conference was reached in two sessions on the last day—an impressive baptism service, followed by a communion service for all the delegates, conducted jointly by the Rev. C. H. Allen of the Presbyterian Mission and Bishop J. H. Linton of the Church Missionary Society.

Next to the spiritual, the social side of the conference was most strongly emphasized. There were two receptions for delegates by the Teheran Church, and one of the high points of the conference was an original Persian "morality play," with a Christian theme, written by a Christian young man and acted by a number of young men and women of the church—all, without exception, converts from Islam.

The large executive committee of the conference was at work constantly throughout the week and made some important recommendations which were adopted at the final session. Bishop Linton had reported on the indecisive reply of the Lambeth Conference to the request from a previous conference of the Persian churches, regarding the formation of a united church in Persia, and as a re-

sult of this report the executive committee took action that "since the differences in the churches in the north and in the south depend upon differences of organization in the churches in America and England, the matter should be referred to the American and British missionaries themselves, so that they may confer together and make the necessary decisions." Other actions laid upon the churches the task of seeing to it that Moslems and Jews becoming Christians abandon all superstitions and customs distinctively belonging to their former religions, that converts be not baptized until they had broken the habit of using opium and alcoholic liquors, and that children born into Christian homes should be given old Persian names and not those with a Moslem connotation.

Nearly all the churches reported large increases in membership since the previous conference four years before. Several new groups of Christians were noted. The most remarkable of these was in a city where a new church has been organized as the result of the work of native Christians led by a young druggist of the city. The newest of these groups is in an oil center where several Christian young men from other churches have organized their own service for worship, conducting it themselves, and have also opened a public book and reading-room for Moslems.

One of the finest features of the conference was the Christian fellowship among the delegates. The dormitory life, where missionaries and Persian Christians slept side by side and ate together, was of great benefit in this direction, and the social intercourse during the intermissions and at the special social meetings brought about many warm friendships amongst widely scattered Christians.

Perhaps one of the most remarkable features of the conference was that it was possible at all. It is quite evident that the recent government proclamation restricting propaganda and public meetings was not aimed at Christians, when it was possible for one hundred people

to travel to Teheran in large parties from all over Persia, and for large groups to assemble daily without the slightest question on the part of the police. All the reports and the tone of the whole conference made clear that greater religious freedom is coming rapidly in Persia.

It will be years before the full value of the Teheran Conference to the church in Persia can be ascertained, but it is certain to be a milestone of importance in the spiritual growth of the various churches and in their sense of being one in Christ.

Teheran, Persia. WILLIAM N. WYSHAM.

SOME BEKTASHI POETS

Although the dervish orders have all been abolished in Turkey, and the reactionary uprising in Menemen a year ago, with the swiftly following execution of twenty-eight men, has done much to strengthen the conviction that dervish mentality is destructive and dangerous to a modern republic, there has been going on in Turkey another cultural development which is bringing out into greater prominence than ever before the poets of one of these dervish orders. The formal literature of Turkey, in the past considered the classic literature, has been molded on stiff, artificial, Persian standards. The modern tendency, on the other hand, is altogether in the direction of rejecting all Persian and Arabic influences, unless they have become thoroughly Turkified; and, in a movement of which Ziya Geuk Alp Bey was one of the leading pioneers, attention has been turned to real Turkish literary expressions in the language of the common people. Under the editorship of Keupruluzade Fuat Bey, Professor of Turkish Literature in Stamboul University, a series of books have been issued interpreting the writings of some of the early poets of the common people. This tendency in cultural development has revealed the unmistakable fact that among the earliest writings intended for the common people was the literature of the mystics. Yunus Emre was one of the earliest writers of this kind and his example was followed especially by the poets of the Bektashi Order. These writers, followers of the sect of Hajji Bektash Veli, who lived in the thirteenth century,[1] a contemporary of Jelal ed Din Rumi's,

1 This date for Hajji Bektash Veli is based on Eflaki's *Menakîb Mevlana* as reported in Keupruluzade Fuat Bey's address at the International Congress on History of Religion, in Paris, 1923.

sought to spread their tenets among the common people. They therefore wrote in a language the people would understand. Recently a book called "The Bektashi Poets" was published by Sadettin Nuzhet, containing selections from the religious poems of 180 such poets. Each poem is called a *Nefes,* a word which literally means, "breath," but is the technical word for any poem which breathes the inspiration of Bektashi doctrines.

The following translations are of *"Nefes"*es from this book and they reveal characteristic doctrines of the order. The first is a general poem indicating the close association of the Bektashis with the Shia point of view. However disappointing the deficiencies of this poem in spiritual insight may seem to be, the sympathetic, discerning student will detect definite points where connection may be made with the opening verses of the Sermon on the Mount. The second poem emphasizes the unity of mankind, those without an experience of Truth being equally without merit, and those with this Truth in their lives having the possibility of equal standing in the love of God. The third poem goes further and develops the Bektashi implications from the doctrine of Pantheism or *Vahdeti Vudjud,* unity of existence.

Although the dervish orders in recent years have been admittedly and perhaps hopelessly corrupt, the early poets and many single individuals today have, through these doctrines, been led into a definite experience of God which at many points finds contact with the mystic experiences whose possibilities and moral conditions were set forth by Christ.

NEFES

by

AGAHI DEDE

All honor to the real Mystic who knows how to give love[1] and to withhold it.[2]
All honor to the real Mystic who has found his desire and consolation.
Joy to the dervish who thinks of the universe as a Journey in God.
All honor to the real Mystic who desires to be lost in God.

1 *Tevella,* nourishing love for those who do homage to Ali, a tenet of faith of the Shias.
2 *Teberra,* another Shia tenet of faith, withholding love from those who do not do homage to Ali.

Bravo for the Mystic who has drunk the cup of forsaking all for God.
All honor to the Mystic who desires to be one of the ascetics.
All honor to the Mystic who has put aside the cloak and mantle of this temporal world
And who has put on the garment of extinction and poverty.
O my spirit, we surrender to the soul who has passed the brave neophyte period.
All honor to the Mystic who has experience of the Named of Names.
All honor to the Mystic who by prayer has made his body the mirror of God,
And who has wiped away all the corruption from the mirror of his soul.
O lover of the Honored Family,[3] ten thousand times, well done.
All honor to the Mystic who loves his friends whoever they are.
Ye who have attained, give reverence from us to the seeker of the secrets.
All honor to the Mystic who has found the best of the wine of love.
O Agahi, again you have composed in the dervish manner.
All honor to the Mystic who knows the thousand fold resemblances of beauty.

NEFES

by

AGAHI DEDE

O teacher, to me the mosque and the saloon are the same thing.[4]
The voice of the pious and the cry of the drunkard are one.
If the secrets of right guidance have not come to thee from God
The performing of worship is one with the wine cup.
Come, leave off this hypocrisy, see that the worldly throne
Is one with any corner of ruins in this passing existence,
But above all, beware lest you give your heart to this World.
To the Mystic (Arif) the wise and the fool are but the same.
O thou who art blind, see, become enlightened even as Agahi;
The candle[5] and the moth[6] burning with this love are one.

NEFES

by

SHIRI

Before the world was or man became known
I was one with Reality.
He created this world of His
Because in that state
I made its picture. I became the designer.

I am folded in garments made of the elements.
I made my appearance out of fire, air, earth and water;
I came to the world with the best of men (Adam)
I was of the same age even as Adam.

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3 The family of Mohammed and Ali.
4 The meaning here closely resembles the meaning in Jesus' saying in Matt. 21:31, that the publicans and harlots shall go into the Kingdom before the chief priests and elders.
5 i. e., The *Murshid* or teacher of the secrets; perhaps also the Beloved, God.
6 i. e., The *murid* or disciple learning the secrets of the mystic way; perhaps also the Lover, man.

I was Seth and came from the loins of Adam;
I entered the Flood as Noah the prophet;
Once I became Abraham in this world.
I built the House of God, I carried stone.

I appeared as Ishmail once, O my soul,
I became once Isaac, Jacob, Joseph,
I came as Job, I uttered many a moan;
Worms ate my body[1]; I was really he.

They cut me in two[2] along with Zacharias,
With John they scattered my blood on the ground.[3]
I came as David. There were many who followed.
The seal of Solomon oft bore I too.

I gave to Moses the blessed rod,
I came as the Holy Spirit to Mary,
I was guide to all the Saints,
I was the right hand companion of Gabriel the Faithful.

Ahmed the Chosen came from his father's loins,
The sword of Ali from those who showed him the way;
Before the world was, friend to the people of the House[4]
I was, although a slave, sharer with the Eternal.

I thought much within myself;
Without beholding a miracle I came to believe;
I rode upon Düldül[5] with the Prince of Heroes,
I bound on the Zulfikar,[6] I bore the sword's blade.

Wine was drunk from the ferment[7] of Sekahum,
The ceremony of the cup[8] was held. We had fellowship together,
The Secret of Truth was laid in the open.
I have borne many secrets which I have received.

Right guidance reached us from God,
We all made homage to the Apostle of God.
He gave word to us of the Journey in God,
I was a sharer of secrets with the Prince of Heroes.[9]

I came evolving[10] through this world of God's making,
I entered training in the place of the Forty,[11]
I was girded by the Prince of Power,[12]
I was comrade with Selmani Pak.[13]

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1 A reference to the tradition that worms ate Job's body in his sickness.
2 This refers to the Islamic tradition that Zacharias, in his attempt to save John, was persecuted, and he went and hid himself in a tree, and was cut asunder with a saw while men were cutting the tree.
3 For the true mystic as occasionally found in real life such a verse represents an actual feeling of being in the place of those suffering.
4 Ehlibeyt, family and friends of Ali.
5 The white mule of Ali.
6 The celebrated sword of Ali.
7 i. e., according to the real meaning, understood only by mystics, of the Koran verse, 76: 21—"and drink of a pure beverage shall their Lord give them."
8 Aynijem, one of the principal ceremonies of the Bektashi order.
9 A reference to Ali.
10 A reference to the doctrine of emanation.
11 Kirklar Meydani, a space in the place of worship inside two picket fences with candle sticks along the right side.
12 Ali.
13 Said to be one of a group to whom, with Ali, Mohammed revealed the inner meaning of the Koran.

Let thanks be, I gained what I sought,
I became the rose, I left the sad cry to the nightingale,
We gathered together in our place with the people of the House,[4]
I became the carpet layer in the place of the Forty.

We made our confession, we were all set in the way,
We did not reveal the secret to any creature;
Together with Imam Hussein in Kerbela
I cleaned the skirt, I carried the rose.

To this world of His often have I come and gone,
I have rained with the rain and grown as the grass,
I gave guidance to the country of the West,
I was Bektash who came from Khorasan.[14]

Sometimes I was Prophet, sometimes Saint,
Sometimes sane, sometimes fool I appeared;
Sometimes as Ahmed, sometimes as Ali I appeared;
None knows my secret, I was cunning.

Now praise is to God, Shiri, they said
I came, I went, they never knew my real person,
My secret none ever uncovered,
To all creatures I was brother.

Stamboul, Turkey. J. KINGSLEY BIRGE.

14 Because of this line some have mistakenly considered Shiri to be identical with Hajji Bektash Veli, the traditional founder of the order.

IS ISLAM A CHRISTIAN HERESY?

The terms heresy and heretical are used in this article in a purely technical sense. Heresy is variation from the creed, and consequent exclusion from the fellowship, of the orthodox church; and orthodoxy is the belief formulated in "The Apostles' Creed" and by the general councils of the catholic church, viz., Nice, Constantinople, and Chalcedon.

It may excite surprise that Mohammedanism should be called Christian in any sense whatever. It is historically so antagonistic to any organized Christianity, both in doctrine and in fellowship, that such a designation may seem preposterous. And then, it sprang up in the heart of Arabia, among the heathen, apparently in the mind of one man, who, we must suppose, lacked both contact with Christianity and the Christian spirit. And, in making himself the last of the prophets, he placed himself upon a higher level than that upon which he conceived Jesus to stand. These considerations may seem to dispose of the question at once and for all. Well, let us see!

Mohammedanism is, of course, a unitarian monotheism. But that does not destroy the possibility of reckoning it as one among the various forms of Christianity. There have been from the beginning Christians—or people who were in their own estimation Christians—who rejected the trinity. The Alogi, Paul of Samosata, who was a bishop, Sabellius, Arius, a priest, Theodore of Mopsuestia, monk and priest, Theodoret and Nestorius, bishops, are the great representatives of a line which partly denied the trinity, or so modified it that they seemed to the orthodox to deny it. And the Eastern church, whether orthodox or heretical, has always em-

phasized the *monarchia* of the godhead, and made this to consist in the Father, from whom alone the Spirit proceeds. A man might, therefore, be historically in the Christian line, although a unitarian, albeit he was esteemed and treated as a heretic.

But was there any real connection with Christianity in Mohammed's case, as there was, say, in the case of Arius? What is possible, and what probable, and what certain, if anything is?

Mohammed must have come to believe in one God somewhere in the first decade of the seventh century. Whatever we may naturally suppose, it is beyond all question that he came in personal contact with Jews and Christians, and received from them a very considerable amount of information about their scriptures and their beliefs. A large portion of the Koran is taken up with relating Old Testament stories about Noah, Moses, Abraham, Joseph, etc., parts of which may be traced, where they depart from the Old Testament originals, directly to Jewish books, the Targum, for example. Many passages show some acquaintance with the New Testament, even with the Fourth Gospel. But in neither case was the knowledge at first hand. Although the earlier belief that Mohammed could neither read nor write is now abandoned, it is practically certain that he could not read either Hebrew or Greek. He therefore learned what he did learn by conversation; and he repeated it, as we do similar things, as he remembered it, with, perhaps, a little of the expatiation and adornment in which good story-tellers delight. Thus he did, as a matter of fact, come in contact with Christians; but what kind of Christians were these teachers of his?

There remain only scanty and imperfect indications of the extension and condition of Christianity in Arabia at the time of Mohammed's birth. Wellhausen (*Reste d.arab. Heidenthums*) finds it largely accepted on the northern fringes of Arabia, but of very little influence in the central portions. Still in Mecca, he thinks, "a super-

ficial knowledge of Christian institutions, rites, and doctrines was to be found, as well as many a legend and biblical story." There were "genuine Arabic words for monk, cell, etc. . . . King David appears in the Koran (xxi.80) as an armorer, but it is not the first time in Arabic story, for he plays the same rôle in earlier poetry." And this Christianity was not that of the orthodox church, but, in a loose sense, monophysite and Nestorian. "Christians were the first to write Arabic prose." They also produced Arabic poetry. And there are indications of scattered "seekers" just before Mohammed's time, acquainted somewhat with both Judaism and Christianity, but with greater sympathy for the latter. Such is Wellhausen's view of the situation about the time of Mohammed's birth.

While we may turn from these and other indications of a possible connection of Islam and Christianity with no clear conviction regarding their reliability or pertinence, there can be no doubt of it when we examine the Koran itself. Mohammed was indebted to both Judaism and Christianity, as already remarked, but his sympathy was decidedly with the Christians. He made Jesus a prophet, and placed him in the series of prophets with Moses, Abraham, etc. No Jew or Jewish sympathizer would do this. And, as Wellhausen points out, he "was, at the beginning of his career, quite under the overwhelming influence of the doctrine of the final judgment." (*Vid.* xcvi. 14 ff., the earliest sura according to Rodwell, and at all events one of the earliest.) This idea, namely, of an individual, personal judgment, Wellhausen remarks, received no such emphasis among the Jews. And the judgment was to be heralded by the return of Jesus to the earth (xliii.61, cf. Matt. 24: 30–31). The existence of such an idea in Mohammed's mind is a decided mark of the supreme influence of Christianity upon him.

The reaction of Mohammed to the double influence of Judaism and Christianity may have been somewhat as follows. From which of them he derived his first sugges-

tion of monotheism, we cannot say, but he certainly regarded the Jewish the purer, and relied upon it to bring the Jews to Islam. He seems to have been attracted by its absoluteness and purity, and he was moved to accept it, at the same time, by his feeling regarding the idolatry of his surroundings, for which he had a horror as well as an intellectual condemnation.

Christianity, as it was presented to him, on the other hand, seemed almost as idolatrous as heathenism. The worship of the saints, for whom indeed no divinity was claimed, had gone to great lengths. A hundred years later a Roman Emperor was so impressed with its abuses that he sought with all his might to eradicate it. And the honors already paid to Mary were such that Mohammed thought she was esteemed a goddess, and understood the Trinity (v.116), of which he heard, as composed of God the Father, his Son Jesus, and Mary, whom the orthodox church called "the mother of God." Sale, in his notes on *Sura* iv.169 says that there was once a sect which held this view of the Trinity; and in his Introduction he says that there were those (called Mariamites) who held it at the Council of Nice itself. It is certain that the Collyridians, who deified Mary, were at one time to be found in Arabia.

This whole saint-worship seemed to Mohammed nothing but the idolatry which he "abominated" (lxxii.5). Judaism gave him the example of a monotheistic faith without these heathenish additions. The very idea that a Son was "begotten" by God repelled him (xix.36). Hence his early declaration against the divine sonship of Jesus (xcii.3), and his long struggle against all who "associated" others with God. But he gave high place among the prophets to Jesus, and maintained to the last *sura* that Jesus had no complicity with this deification of himself.

It appears therefore that whatever he obtained from the Jews, Mohammed learned much from the Christians, and was even, in a certain sense, a follower of Jesus. And

when he felt within himself the call to be a prophet, it was perfectly natural, since he regarded Jesus as a prophet and a man, that he should feel himself a member of the same line of immemorial prophets, especially as Jesus, like all the rest, had been rejected. He thus became a heretic before he had ever become orthodox.

His early connections with Christianity were, therefore, probably with "heretics." But there are other and more positive evidences that he had contact with such Christians.

If there had been any orthodox or heretical literature in his own "perspicuous" Arabic, one might hope that he had read it. There were in his time no translations from the Bible now known to us, for the earliest existing Arabic version was made in the tenth century. But according to Fritzsche, in Herzog-Plitt, there were some translations of portions of Biblical books made in the seventh century; and possibly, though not probably, Mohammed may have seen some of these. If the Fourth Gospel was thus translated, then certain apparent allusions to it in the Koran—the use of "Word" in respect to Jesus (iii.40, iv.168), reference to his being endowed with the spirit (iv.169, ii.81, cf. Jn. 3:34), a professed quotation from Jesus, several times repeated, "my Lord and your Lord" (iii.44 etc., cf. Jn. 20:17)—would be explicable. The great and well-nigh overwhelming objection to this suggestion is the consideration that, if Mohammed knew the Fourth Gospel at all, he would almost certainly have made greater use of it, or at least shown a greater knowledge of Jesus, than he did.

There is, however, one book about which there is more certainty. The "Arabic Gospel of the Infancy of the Saviour" was the source of one or two passages in the Koran. This Mohammed could have read, and probably did, unless he got his knowledge of it, as he did of the Old Testament, by conversation. From it came, by whatever channel, the story of the making of clay figures which became birds (iii.43, cf. Infancy, 1, 46), and the

speaking from the cradle (iii.43, xix.30, Inf. 1.). The Infant Jesus promises (in iii.43) to heal the blind and the leper; and in the "Infancy" healing lepers is greatly emphasized (18, ff.) and that of the blind mentioned (28).

Thus a source of the Koran in an heretical book is made clear; and incidentally the date of this document, which is otherwise quite uncertain, is carried back to a time before Mohammed, at the latest.

There are other traces of the influence of heretical sects upon Mohammed. The Gnostic idea that Jesus did not die upon the cross (*vid.* Irenæus, I. xxiv. 4), but some one else suffered in his place, Basilides naming him Simon of Cyrene, was at one time taken up by Mohammed (iv.156). It is less clearly stated in iii.48. True, this might be the appropriation of an idea caught up by chance to magnify Jesus, who was but a man, and still one endowed with exceptional powers, and one whom a shameful death on the cross did not become. But it is undeniably derived from the heretical Gnostics.

There is, then, considerable evidence that Mohammed did receive powerful impressions from contact with certain forms of heretical Christianity. But what we have already seen touches, after all, only the surface of this matter. It remains to ask whether Islam as a whole has enough of Christianity in it to be reckoned as one form of that religion, or is it essentially as hostile as the actual treatment of Christians by Mohammedans has often been. Is it *in substance* an heretical Christianity?

The great doctrines of Islam, constituting its very substance and expressing its inner meaning, in comparison with which all else that pertains to it is nothing but incidental, are the following:

1. Monotheism, maintained against the whole heathen world.
2. The acceptance of the original and uncorrupted Jewish and Christian Scriptures as a revelation from God.
3. Sin, the condition of the unbeliever, from which he needs to be delivered.
4. Repentance, involving human freedom and responsibility.
5. The condition of salvation, absolute surrender of the whole man, heart and soul, to the will of God.

6. The divine remission of sins to believers.
7. The change from unbelief to belief wrought by the overflowing grace of God.
8. Heaven and Hell as states of reward and punishment.
9. An ethical doctrine containing many a Christian touch.
10. Jesus a prophet, greater than Mohammed,[1] who will return to earth as a sign of the day of judgment (xliii.61), on whom then the Jews shall believe (ii.158).

Now, here are the great doctrines of Christianity, found in no other religion, not all of them even in Judaism. They are, to be sure, very defective, and surrounded by great errors, and need the correcting and supplementing influence of a complete and pure form of Christianity. But Christian they are, both in fact and in origin! They constitute the very heart and substance of Islam, and they are also the very heart and substance of Christianity. *And they are enough to justify our title, that Mohammedanism is an heretical Christianity.* And when Mohammed looked around upon what Christianity he knew, with its corrupt priesthood, its doctrine of transubstantiation, its worship of saints, its hierarchy, and its warring sects, he had reason to think that Islam was the better of the two. That he put Islam too high, deeming it a restoration of the one, true religion of Moses and Jesus, was the natural consequence of human ignorance and weakness.

One result follows from this line of thought in reference to Islam, of very great importance. It is that the approach by the Christian missionary to Moslems should be most sympathetic and conciliatory. It is the approach of one brother to another, of the older to the younger, the stronger to the weaker, the more experienced to the more limited and narrow, the wiser to one ignorant of many things. This is the *true* approach, not the politic, not the worldly-wise, not the effective, not one arising from centuries of failure to make any impression upon a proud and confident people,—although it is all these,—but the one approach justified and demanded by the relations of

1 [It is doubtful whether, either in the Koran or Tradition, Islam gives Jesus a higher place than Mohammed. The central doctrine of Christianity, the Atonement, is entirely absent, because the Koran denies the death and resurrection of our Lord.—*Editor.*]

the two faiths, and demanded also, were the relations other than they are, by the spirit of Him who came into the world without pomp, with loving interest in men, and humbly and gently went about doing good.

It is a touching indication of Mohammed's sense of his indebtedness to Christianity that, in the last sura which he wrote,[1] the fifth, he repeated his large-hearted declaration that Jews and Christians who are true believers and do right, shall be saved,—or, as he himself puts it, "on them shall come no fear, neither shall they be put to grief." And in the last words of this *sura* he represents Jesus as saying to God in Heaven, of those to whom he had preached upon earth: "If thou punish them, they are thy servants, and if thou forgive them, [it shall be well]." And Mohammed adds: "God will say—'This day shall their truth advantage the truthful.' . . . God is well pleased with them and they with him. This shall be the great victory."

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1 So Nöldeke. If not the very last, this sura was among the last written.

CHRISTIANITY AND GOVERNMENT IN NETHERLANDS-INDIA[1]

I. The Church

There exists a relationship between the Government and Church in Netherlands-India which is indeed a peculiar one in this late day, and one which is daily growing more incongruous and embarrassing to the government.

The present relationship can easily be explained historically. The Dutch Republic regarded the regulation of religion as one of its functions, and in its Asiatic possessions this power was conferred upon the East Indian Company. The Company regarded the Church as merely a branch of its activities. The government treated ministers autocratically; on occasion a governor would put a minister in chains, in order to make him hold his tongue. On the other hand, the records do not indicate that the preachers were shining examples of industry or that they had a burning enthusiasm for their work. Netherlands preachers did not care to go to the East Indies; at one time all of the preachers at Batavia were German. The Company paid them poorly, and they were often compelled to eke out a living by engaging in trade on the side. Until 1743 there was a ban against all religious bodies save the Reformed Church, but in this year a Lutheran governor secured freedom of worship for his fellow churchmen and a Lutheran minister was sent out at the expense of the Company. It is needless to say that the Church enjoyed no autonomy whatsoever.

The East Indian Company was liquidated very shortly before the Napoleonic Wars, but the State did

1 A study made under a Fellowship of the Social Science Research Council.

not take actual control of affairs in the East until after the Treaty of Vienna and the elevation of the Prince of Orange as King of the Netherlands. One of the ideals of William I was the union of all his Protestant subjects in one church, after the model of the *Unirte Kirche* in Prussia. His efforts to achieve this end failed in the Netherlands but were successful in the colonies. The bonds between the churches in the East Indies and the *Hervormde Kerk* in the Netherlands were broken and a "Commission for the Affairs of the Protestant churches in Netherlands East and West Indies" was set up at The Hague, provisionally in 1815 but permanently in 1820. The Commission is composed of seven members, living in or near The Hague, of whom five must be Protestant ministers in active service. The members are appointed by the Crown. The ministers for the Indian Church are appointed by the Crown, upon nomination of the Commission. When a vacancy occurs in an Indian church the Minister of Colonies notifies the Commission of this fact. The Commission then advertises for applicants, and from the applicants selects one for nomination to the Minister of Colonies, but the latter is not bound to appoint the Commission's nominee.

A royal decree of 1820 declared that all Protestant churches in the East Indies would henceforth be united under a common administration and the Minister of Colonies was charged with the task of drafting a plan of organization for the Indian Church, subject to the approval of the Crown. This organization was tardily created by decrees of 1835 and 1840, and the actual union of all the Protestant churches was not consummated until 1854, when the Lutheran Church at Batavia was united with the Reformed Church. As compensation for the loss of their church identity the Lutherans received assurance that one of the ministers at Batavia would always be a Lutheran. The regulations of 1840 provided that all Protestants in the Indies would be regarded as members of the Indian Church unless they expressly de-

clared themselves unwilling to be so regarded. Until 1927 this was the only Protestant church recognized by the government. All other church bodies received recognition only as ethical associations. Since 1927 all church bodies recognized as such by the government in the Netherlands receive recognition almost automatically in the East Indies. The Governor General has power to appoint, transfer and remove ministers of the Indian Church. Though he must first seek the advice of the Church Board at Batavia, he is not bound by it, and he has on occasion ignored its recommendations.

The central Church Board at Batavia is not elected by the churches but is appointed by the Governor General. It is composed of the ministers at Batavia, at present some five or six in number, and five lay members of the Batavian Church, one of whom serves as chairman. The government regulations charge this central Board with the care of the interests of Christianity in general and of the Protestant church in India in particular, and the general supervision over the Protestant churches, their ministers and local consistories. Only the Board corresponds with the Government, and all correspondence between the Board and the Hague Commission is through the Governor General as intermediary. All general rules which the Board may think necessary must be submitted to the government for approval. The government pays the salaries of the church personnel. In 1927 this personnel included forty-three ministers, thirty-one assistant ministers, eight religious teachers and about three hundred fifty native ministers. In addition to this personnel cost, the government also defrays the cost of church administration, frequently also the cost of public worship and occasionally a grant is made for the erection of church buildings.

The Roman Catholics under the Portuguese had carried on an extensive work and had taken many natives into the church. But with the Dutch conquest the Roman Catholic Church and its various organizations were

banned. This exclusion lasted for two centuries, or until 1807. The present relationship between the Roman Catholic Church and the East Indian Government rests principally upon an agreement of 1847. Under this and later agreements the Roman Catholic Church obtained subsidies for the support of its personnel and public worship, but unlike the Protestant Church, at the cost of very little freedom.

The population of the East Indies is overwhelmingly Moslem, yet the East Indian Government grants no direct subsidies to the Moslem worship. We have here the anomaly of two Christian churches in a Moslem country singled out for subsidy, and, furthermore, one of these churches controlled by a government which is itself steadily falling more and more under the control of a native Moslem legislative majority. This state of affairs runs counter to all modern conceptions of the proper relationship between Church and State. Not only is it unfair to the natives, over ninety-seven per cent. of whom are non-Christian, but it is also unfair to the independent Protestant churches which have been established in the Indies in the last decades. Nor is it beneficial to the Indian Church, for its church life does not rest on a solid basis and little influence goes out from it. The whole organization is artificially controlled and kept alive from above. The local church bodies manifest very little vitality, though this lethargic condition may in part be ascribed to the East Indian social structure. The majority of the members are Eurasians, who are accustomed to look to the European officials for leadership in matters ecclesiastical as well as governmental, while the European members who furnish the leadership are mostly government officials, and because of frequent transferral, are more or less transient.

The Indian Church has no confessional standards and the Church's lack of vitality has by some been ascribed in large part to this fact. "What the Indian Church won in breadth," so concluded a leading Indian Church min-

ister, "it lost in depth. By trying to embrace everybody who could be accounted a Protestant, no matter by what token, it included in its membership many who were religiously indifferent. By attempting to be something even for the most indifferent, it became too little for those church-loving natures who become zealous only where they find a dogmatic position after their taste and a church form in conformity with it. So the Indian Church has become a body which with its present organization can with great difficulty be brought to a position of financial strength and vigor. . . . Church organizations artificially called to life, and forming a union of ill-assorted, often of divergent elements, cannot rely on the liberality of their members. Brought to life from without, they must also be maintained from without."

The East Indian government has for some time wished to withdraw from this relationship which is every day becoming more embarrassing. In the first Volksraad (the representative body of the Dutch East Indies, established in 1918) opposition to continued state support of the Christian churches was expressed by an Indonesian member, and in 1919 the Volksraad passed a resolution, which had been introduced by an Indonesian member, in which the hope was expressed that the separation of Church and State might take place as quickly as possible. A commission to study the problem was appointed by the Minister of Colonies in 1910. This commission recommended a plan for the reorganization of the Indian Church so as to give it greater autonomy, but the commission's proposal met with little favor from the Church. The Church Board, in its turn, issued a statement in 1920, in which it accepted the principle of separation, but subject to some sort of financial reparation. The two churches stand in a strong position over against the government, by virtue of Article 176 of the East Indian Organic Law which provides that no changes may be made in the existing organization and administration of the Christian church corporations without the mutual ap-

proval of the Crown and the administrations of the respective church bodies. In 1921 the Governor General appointed a commission to re-examine the question of the separation of Church and State and to devise specific proposals for such separation. This advisory commission, reporting in 1927, states as its view that this relationship, which was forced upon the two churches, could not now be terminated unilaterally by the government, to the great injury of the churches. The majority of the commission recommended that the government grant the two church bodies an endowment equal to the capitalized value of the subsidies received by the churches at the time of the separation. The government has not yet acted on the recommendations of the report nor is it probable that the government will come before the Volksraad with any specific proposals in the near future. This postponement of action is not advantageous to the churches, for a settlement will become more and more difficult as time goes on. The powers of the Volksraad are increasing. Add to this the factors of a growing nationalist movement and a larger Indonesian majority in the Volksraad and the difficulties of future settlement are clear.

A complete and sudden cutting off of the government subsidy would undoubtedly be the death sentence for many of the native churches and even some of those in which Europeans predominate. It is not that East Indian society is unable or unwilling to support the church, for the large number of vigorous *Gereformeerde Kerken* in the East Indies, which have never received government support, prove the contrary. Loss of the subsidy would in the end re-invigorate the Indian Church.

Another great difficulty in giving autonomy to the Indian Church is the question of whether or not the church shall have a confession, and if a confession, what the contents of that confession shall be. This question is sure to cause no little trouble when the separation of Church and State finally takes place, as views vary all the way from Unitarianism to orthodox Calvinism.

II. Missions

Missionary work was from the beginning one of the activities of the Company. The Company ministers, besides preaching for the Company employees and their families, had also to labor among the Indonesians. The earlier colonial policy thus knew nothing of a neutral attitude toward missionary activities. From this position the government in the early part of the 19th century, after missionary activity had changed from a public to a private enterprise, swung over to the other extreme of leaning over backwards in an effort to be neutral. Missionaries have complained that neutrality took on an aspect of cool, reserved and sometimes even hostile indifference.[2] The government long hesitated to permit mission work in Java and it even impounded the first translation of the New Testament into Javanese in order to prevent its distribution. The government apparently held the view that it had an obligation to protect Islam against foreign influences. Local government officials were responsible for placing all sorts of obstacles in the way of the work of missionaries. When native Christians in Minahasa were busy building churches, officials ordered them out on the roads at forced labor. Government bureaus were for many years open on Sunday and closed on Moslem and other non-Christian feast-days. With the triumph of the coalition of the Christian parties in the Netherlands the official attitude began to change, although this change of attitude must not be wholly ascribed to this cause.

The frequently unhappy relations between missionaries and local officials are not to be solely ascribed to an excessive spirit of neutrality on the part of the officials. The difficulty lies deeper. Through years of sojourn in a particular community, missionaries acquire a thorough knowledge of the customs, social institutions and thought

2 See Gunning, J. W., "Regeering en Zending." *Hollandia Drukkerij*, Baarn, 1912. Also Kraemer, H., "Kritische beschouwing van begrip en toepassing der neutraliteit in Godsdienst zaken in de overzeesche gewesten," *Indische Genootschap*, 1929, pp. 65-81. Also Crommelin, D., "Regeering en Zending," *Kolonial Tijdschrift*, XVII, 145ff.

patterns of its people. Only after missionaries have arrived at the motives and thought processes of the people can they hope to influence them and change their ideas. Officials are not in a position to make an equally intensive study of a people since they seldom remain long enough in a post and do not come in as close contact with the people. The missionary thus acquires a far greater authority with the people than does the official, though the latter is clothed with governmental authority. This situation sometimes leads to clashes between missionary and official. It may be said in behalf of the official that while he is not in as good a position to judge many local situations, he does often have a wider general experience and a wider perspective, and hence may pass a sounder judgment on certain situations and occurrences.

It may be noted here that the Netherlands and East Indian governments are deeply indebted to missionaries for great contributions to the scientific knowledge of the land and people. The work of such men as Dr. Adriani, Dr. A. C. Kruyt and others, in such fields as language, customary law and anthropology, has been of inestimable value to the government in governing the people and developing the land.

The mid-nineteenth century attitude of the Dutch government toward missions found concrete expression in Article 123 of the Indian Organic Law of 1855.[3] Under the terms of this article no Christian minister, priest or missionary may pursue his profession in any part of the East Indies without first obtaining a special permission to do so from the Governor General. Moreover, "whenever the permission is found harmful, or its conditions not adhered to, the permission may be revoked by the Governor General." Aside from a lack of sympathy for missionary work the government was motivated by a fear of arousing Moslem fanaticism. In spite of the changed attitude of the government this article was not dropped from the Law in the revision of 1922 for the reason that

3 This article was retained unaltered in the revision of 1922 as Article 177.

the East Indian government still finds it necessary to exclude missionary work in certain sections, as in Atjeh (Northern Sumatra) and Bantam (West Java) because of frequent unrest.[4] The East Indian Government has found the power granted it under this article convenient for the purpose of preventing baneful and unseemly sectarian competition. Until 1928 the government kept the Roman Catholics and Protestants, and even the different Protestant sects, apart by assigning them separate fields. This regulation was never satisfactory to the Roman Catholics, probably for the reason that their work was really not very extensive until after 1905, and by that time the Protestants had very nearly occupied all the strategic points in the East Indies. The rule was repealed in 1928 and now all of the East Indies is equally open to all missions.

Until 1890 the mission schools were excluded from all government subsidy and there was much harmful competition between government and mission schools. In this year the original provision that subsidized schools could give no religious instruction was repealed. However, under a law passed in 1915, schools receiving subsidies under it must leave attendance upon classes in religious education optional with the parents of the child. With the aid of the government subsidies the mission schools have greatly increased in number since 1895. Twenty per cent. of the pupils in the East Indies now are in private schools, and though this includes children attending neutral and Moslem schools, the great majority of these pupils are found in mission schools. The task of education is too great for the government alone, and therefore it welcomes aid from private sources. By subsidizing private schools the government is able to make education more extensive than it otherwise could. Very nearly all the schools in New Guinea, Central Celebes and the central sections of Borneo are mission schools. But the system of subsidies is not without its dangers and

4 A late governor general apparently also promised the Balinese that he would protect their native cultural and religious society from foreign influences.

some missionaries are beginning to see distinct disadvantages in it.

The future of the subsidy can only be a matter of conjecture. The plans for the decentralization process now being launched call for the transfer of education to the local governmental units. In the councils of these local units the Indonesians will have a majority from the outset. This increasing Indonesian participation in the government, even in the central government, which is hailed by nearly all missionaries with satisfaction, may bring in its train a reduction and even an abolition of the subsidy. At the present time many outstanding Javanese political leaders send their children to the Christian mission schools in preference to the government schools. One reason for this is that mission schools have acquired the reputation of being better than the government schools. Mission school teachers are much more permanent; they often stay in one school as long as twenty years. Government teachers, on the other hand, are constantly on the lookout for a transfer to a better place, hoping ultimately to land in a city with a large European population. Another reason for the popularity of the mission schools with the native leaders is just the fact that they give religious instruction. The Indonesians are deeply religious.

A unique institution in the Dutch East Indies is the Missions Consulate. The government found its relations with the Roman Catholic missionaries much more convenient due to their unified control. It could deal with the bishop with respect to all matters which might arise. It therefore asked the various Protestant missions for a similar arrangement—for the creation of a central authority through which it could deal. Very nearly all of the Protestant missions operating in the East Indies united in the establishment of the consulate which was opened at Batavia in 1906, with Dr. C. W.Th. Baron van Boetzelaer van Dubbeldam as the consul.

The chief and original function of the consulate was to serve as the intermediary between the Protestant mis-

sions and the government, and to serve as the advisor to the governor general and the government with respect to all mission matters. All requests and complaints go to the government through the consulate. While the mission boards and missionaries are not under compulsion to use the consul as an intermediary they have learned that they might as well go to the consul in the first instance, since the government takes all such matters up with him before taking action. The mission consulate also serves as an intermediary between the missionaries on the field and the home societies, as a central clearing house for the various mission societies and as an agency through which they can integrate their work, and lastly as a point of contact with international missionary conferences and foreign mission bodies. Both government and missions have learned to like this arrangement and the consulate has more than fulfilled its promise.

The number of Indonesian Christians is approaching the million and a half mark. The people on Ambon and some of the neighboring islands of the Molucca group have been Christians for centuries—from the early days of Portuguese and Dutch occupation. A second large Christian center is the Minahasa or Northern Celebes, whose people began to turn to Christianity *en masse* about eighty years ago. A more recent and even larger accession to Christianity is to be found in the Batak lands of Sumatra, the field of the Rhenish Mission. The number of Christians in this area now numbers over 300,000. While the number of converts in Java is small, especially in view of the years of missionary work there, it is nevertheless the most successful Christian missionary work among Mohammedans to be found anywhere in the world. The Javanese Christians number about 50,000.

Lastly, the question of the attitude of the missionaries toward the growing nationalist movement must be briefly discussed. In certain quarters the missionary is still regarded as either the pawn or the agent of imperialism or both. But during the last decade another note has been

heard. Many now regard the missionary as the friend of the nationalist movement, even to the point of giving it active encouragement. Missionaries are now being attacked because of the allegation that they are making common cause with the nationalist movement. It may be a case of the missionaries leaning over backward for the purpose of gaining the good will of the people among whom they work and of warding off all suspicion of being the tool of the western capitalist nations. But it must not be forgotten that Christian missions involve the largest possible identification of the missionary with the people among whom he has come to live, and that he must necessarily be interested in their development. He cannot then very well be expected to do otherwise than rejoice at the social, economic and political development of his adopted people. The present-day missionary is more likely to be uncritical than unsympathetic.

Several of the political parties in the Netherlands have long carried planks in their platforms advocating government encouragement and support of Christian missions in the dependencies. With the growth of the nationalist movement these party declarations have become embarrassing to the missionaries, especially since these so-called clerical parties have been in control of the States General since 1918. Leading missionaries have pleaded for the elimination of these planks from the party platforms as they prove harmful to missionary work. By and large the missionaries in the East Indies, especially those of Dutch nationality, stand very independently over against the government and against the European population. Their leaders are known to be very sympathetic with the nationalist movement and have the confidence of the young intellectuals. This is especially true of Dr. H. Kraemer, whose influence among the young Indonesian intellectuals is truly remarkable.

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NEW FORCES IN OLD MOROCCO

Some twenty years ago a European Power began to throw some tit-bits into the Moroccan cage. The natives approached with great caution, sniffed and then retreated in an attitude of suspicion. But this posture was not permanent and after the lapse of some time a new approach was made. They now began to nibble at the tit-bits, then proceeded to take larger bites until they gorged themselves with the very food they once treated as poison. Picture houses became crowded, cars were brought into the country as fast as roads could be made to accommodate them, young men began to play football, the sons of the upper classes felt the tug toward the tennis court, the demand for European commodities increased and the whole country began to tingle with the inspiration of a new life.

A complete wrench from the ancient footholds of the past was not to be expected; discontented groups and outlying tribes saw in these innovations not merely a threat to their independence but a thrust at their religion. Fanaticism was whipped into fury and war was declared. But that chapter is almost closed, for the French authorities have stuck to their program and effectively throttled all attempts to thwart their purpose. A new vitality has been injected into the life of the country, a sense of security is prevalent everywhere, the growth of centuries has been lopped away and things that were sacred by reason of age and sentiment have now no more than an antiquarian value.

Every centre of population has its *Ecole Indigène.* Serious efforts are made to teach the French language;

indeed this is the subject of paramount importance, for the French believe that when the native can speak their tongue it awakens an affection for everything it represents. The growing generation is now convinced that quinine is more effective than their own quack medicines; that vaccination is a surer way of wiping out small-pox than a thousand visits to saints' tombs; that the dangling of Koranic texts about the body does not dispatch pain so rapidly as a touch of iodine, and that water where someone has washed his feet is not fit for human consumption. In a word: European life with its accompaniments of speed, luxury and amusements has captured the native imagination and carried the bulk of the population beyond the horizon that hemmed them in for centuries.

How strange it is to see crowds of natives who, no further back than a dozen years ago, knew little or nothing of the rush of modern life, scrambling at railway and car stations for seats in vehicles that hurtle them home to the tune of sixty kilometers an hour.

Some months ago I travelled from Tangier in the North to Agadir in the South. This latter town, shut for centuries against European residents, was opened to commerce a little over two years ago. It is to become the terminus of the railway that runs from Algeria, the base for air-craft taking off for Brazil, while hotels now in course of construction hint at tourist traffic.

The whole country has been caught in a swirling current and swept from its ancient moorings forever. Those who still carry on the exercise of slipping beads through the fingers, and tilt at Europeans with Koranic texts, have been shoved into the shade of back streets where they spend their time indulging in reminiscences of a glorious past, now eclipsed by the degeneration of these days. Social evils and irregularities long embedded in the structure of Moorish life are being chiseled out; the slave market is gone; the oppressed native can now have the aid of the European lawyer; many women are free and

untrammelled from those restrictions that made their lives a long, unbroken rut of monotony.

These changed conditions have brought the missionary into contact with a column of questions which could not be asked twenty years ago simply because the conditions that prompt these queries today did not then exist. These questions cannot be staved off by the complacent attitude that seeks to remind us that despite all these changes the gospel remains the same. The same type of life buoy may be thrown to the man drowning in mid-ocean as to the man drowning in a stagnant pond, but the movement of the ship and the swell of the waves related to the former do not exist in relation to the latter, and consequently the method of approach must be altered or modified. It would be foolish to get the notion into our heads that because the baker handed the loaf in at the kitchen window today instead of at the front door, as on previous occasions, that therefore the loaf because of that change was inferior to the others.

Years ago the boys who came to my evening class had spent the greater part of the day cooped up in a small room memorizing the Koran. Today they come from French schools with their heads full of figures that measure the distance of fixed stars. In the early days of our work the magic lantern put an audience in high spirits of expectation, but today the cinema with its telling addition of movement has broken the spell of the former attraction. Books were once great things; within their covers were coiled up supernatural power which, when touched by an expert hand, unloosed a force that distributed favors or destroyed a community. But that kind of threat has now grown thin, for books in both Arabic and French have become common as coins. There was a time when the missionary on opening his book would produce a hush or arouse antagonism. Today that operation produces neither one nor the other of these postures; it simply attracts or repels on the merits of its interest.

One evening a boy in my class was taken with a fit. The atmosphere became charged with fear. When I picked him up the other boys clutched at each other in terror. Round the room went the whisper "demons." The other day this same boy—now a young man—collapsed in the street a few yards in front of me. I took him home and when he was normal again I said, "These demons still trouble you?" He quietly replied: *"Kidoob; mooshi jinoon, qalbi."* (Lies! it's my heart, not demons.) During the interval of years between these two fits he had passed into another world where the mystic explanation had been ousted by the knowledge of a material fact.

And so, as we have already hinted, the collapse of the old structure brings the missionary into contact with a new list of questions: shall we simply preach Christ and Him crucified, or do we now feel secure enough to launch an offensive against the corruptions of the Koran and the falsity of Islam? Shall we encourage the girls who come to our schools to adopt the sensible and wholesome practice of leaving the face uncovered, or shall we advise them to continue with their veils? Are present conditions propitious for bringing converts of both sexes to partake of the Lord's supper at the same table? We in Morocco are facing these and a score of other questions in the hope that after experiments have been tried practical issues will emerge.

New phases of work, such as halls in the larger towns, cars to reach country markets, etc., are not intended to displace the older forms of work carried on in dispensaries, shelters and girls' schools, but rather as reinforcements to close gaps which have remained open since the early days of our mission.

We are now in the open, with our banners unfurled. There is no camouflage employed to cover the operations carried on in our camp. The old notion, entertained by many natives, that we were in their midst to do good to the poor, with a view to heaping up merit for ourselves in the world to come, is now almost extinct. Others

looked upon us as representatives of our government sent out to keep an eye on this country, report on any untoward development that might damage the prestige of our nation, and if necessary forestall any other Power that aimed at adding Morocco to the list of its colonial triumphs. I recall how on more than one occasion when some of the educated class asked me to disclose the real reason for my presence among them, and I replied "Your conversion" they became convulsed with laughter. Wild guesses at the purpose and motive of our presence here are no longer necessary, for we have proved to them, in the passing, that our conviction in regard to the finality of Christ and His message is too deep-rooted to be displaced by inferior considerations.

The Moslems of Morocco now speak quite freely about a "Truncated Koran." This is what they mean by the phrase: Europeans have created and developed a situation which differs as much from the environment in which the Koran was compiled as a wooden plough does from a modern tractor. As a consequence of this many of the precepts in their book have become obsolete, because the primitive conditions and limited knowledge necessary to their effective working no longer exist.

When the foundations of smoke-stacks were laid in Casablanca the bell began to toll the termination of a primitive past; and when natives accepted work in factories where their time was checked by the clock, the demise of ablutions and stated times of prayer was then definitely dated for all such employees. Ramadan was a tolerably easy affair when the bulk of the population was in a position "to sleep out this great gap of time," but when civilization with its inevitable accompaniment of competition comes on the scene and quickens the pace of life, the whole question of fasting comes up for revision.

Some years ago when on board a steamer approaching Casablanca we stopped to pick up a small boat containing two fishermen. The sea was rough and they were in

danger. When they got alongside of us we threw them a rope which they attached to the bow of their boat. When our steamer gathered speed the fishermen's craft capsized and went to pieces. Mohammedanism, unable to make headway by its own power, has attached itself to modern life, but inasmuch as that religion was not constructed to stand the strain of that life, it is breaking up.

A truncated Koran may lead to the triumph of the cross. But a cheap optimism that fancies we are on the eve of a great ingathering is sure to be disillusioned. Any one who has given serious consideration to the question of converting Mohammedans to Christianity must have come to the conclusion by this time that, while it is the privilege of the missionary to gather a few converts here and there, and so form the nucleus of a native church, any mass movement of Moslems toward Christ must wait for the mission of the consecrated indigenous church. When a body, even a small body, of native converts become filled with the love of Christ and go forth to preach the gospel to their brethren, not for material gain, but because, as to the lark on a May morning, silence is impossible when a new world of throbbing life has thrilled their souls with an inspiration that cannot be resisted, then, and not till then, shall Christ see of the travail of His soul in this land. To say that this is a dream, is to say in the same breath that the Moslem world is doomed.

Those of us who are endeavoring to christianize North Africa should keep an eye on the methods employed by European Powers seeking to colonize this same people. Here are an hundred raw Arabs who in a year of drought seek refuge from hunger by joining the army. At the end of a month or so the European officer has found among this hundred two men of somewhat superior intelligence. He puts them through a course of intensive training. They catch the French idea of a soldier. A colored strip is attached to the sleeve of their jackets indicating promotion. They are ordered to make those

ninety-eight recruits, who joined up with them at the same time, what they themselves have become—disciplined soldiers. The drilling ground for new recruits is near our home, and I have often watched them at drill. The new-made officer stands in front of the men. *"Shoof feea,"* says he (look at me). Yes, look at me and know that you are at the beginning of a process that is going to mould you to my shape. Thus through native agency an army is built up that numbers many thousands, and reaches a standard sufficiently high to allow them to take their place in battle against highly skilled soldiers of other nations.

"He chose twelve that they might be with Him." That is concentrated effort upon chosen souls. To these our Lord gave special teaching until at last they caught His idea of the kingdom of God. Then forth they went to become centres of power among their brethren. Our Lord laid Himself open to the accusation of wasting His time on those dull men when He might have been developing the kingdom of God in untouched quarters. Yet that group of men was the pivotal point upon which the salvation of the world hung.

With the passing years the conviction gains ground among missionaries that a movement *en masse* of Moslems toward Christ waits for the native convert who, through a vision of his own, verifies the message of the missionary, refuses to be tied to the moorings of the mission house, and goes forth under the propulsion of a divine inspiration to proclaim the gospel to his fellows.

So, while we here in Morocco believe in widespread witness, even as Jesus did, we keep an open eye for the coming of those chosen souls who, in the changed conditions described above, have an opportunity unparalleled through their long past history of stepping out on the side of Christ and presenting to their kinsfolk the message of saving grace.

Mazagan, Morocco. JAMES HALDANE.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE IDEA OF SPIRIT IN ISLAM[1]

II

The soul can know Allāh and it can do that only because it is related to Allāh. The nature of the relationship is the question which divides the mystics of the different schools, their views ranging from a gift of contemplation which is an unveiling of himself by Allāh, through theories of emanation (*ṣudūr*), to absolute pantheistic absorption and annihilation of the Multiplicity in the Unity. On the strange jumble in the above statement of al-Djurdjānī, of Ḳur'ānic, Neoplatonic and Gnostic terms and ideas, reference may be made to Nicholson's Studies in Islamic Mysticism, throughout and by the indices; to Goldziher's Vorlesungen, IV and especially the Anmerkungen thereon; also to his article in ZA, vol. xxii, pp. 317ff., Neuplatonische und gnostische Elemente im Ḥadīth (idea of Reason); also to the article on 'Abd al-Razzāḳ referred to above. On the fundamental tradition that Allāh created Adam in his own image cf. especially Nicholson, pp. 77, 80, 106, 111, 113.

The older and more orthodox Ṣūfī position on the *rūḥ* is given in the Kashf al-maḥdjūb of al-Hudjwīrī (d. betw. 465 and 469; transl. Nicholson, pp. 261–266). He was a Sunnite and Ḥanafite and held that all the errors of the Ṣūfī sectaries and heretics sprang from their position as to the *rūḥ*. For him it was corporeal, but of a subtle nature (*djism laṭīf*); it was originated (*muḥdath*) and not eternal (*ḳadīm*). He thus agreed with Ibn Ḳaiyim. In the edition, printed Būlāḳ 1290, of the Risāla of al-Ḳushairī (d. 465/1074; Brockl. i, p. 432; Richard Hartmann, Das Ṣûfîtum nach al-Kushairī, 1914; also in Der Islam, 1915, pp. 36 ff.) with the commentary of Zakarīya al-'Anṣārī (d. 926/1520; Brockl. ii, p. 19) and the super-commentary of Muṣṭafā al-'Arūsī (finished 1271/1854) it is possible to trace the uniformity of orthodox Muslim mysticism on the doctrine of the *rūḥ* through eight centuries. For such Ṣūfīs the important thing from the beginning was the overcoming of the *nafs*, "the flesh." In consequence they regarded the *nafs* as the source of all evil qualities and, in distinction, the *rūḥ* as the

1 Part I of this article appeared in the January issue of The Moslem World.

source of good qualities. This is explicit in Ḳushairī and implicit in 'Arūsī, but Zakarīya al-'Anṣārī enters a caveat, that the more exact of the Ṣūfīs (*al-muḥaḳḳiḳūn*) hold that *nafs, rūḥ, ḳalb, sirr, 'aḳl* on one side mean the same thing, the subtle human property (*al-laṭīfa al-'insānīya*), the essence possessing a special knowledge of the Lord (*al-ḥaḳīḳa al-rabbānīya*), although, on another side, each means a different thing (Risāla, ii, pp. 105 ff.). This position is quoted as that of al-Ghazzālī who recognized that *nafs* was the word used in the Ḳur'ān broadly for the human soul and was not entirely, or predominantly, the sensual element which must be subdued and controlled. But Ḳushairī, because of his position, has to use *rūḥ* for the human soul. The *'arwāḥ*, then, are selfs or substances (*'a'yān*), fine or subtle (*laṭīfa*), deposited (*mūda'a*) in human bodies, and which are separated from their bodies at death or, temporarily, in sleep. These are created and the belief that they are eternal is a grave error. Zakarīya al-'Anṣārī goes on to distinguish two and even three *rūḥ's* in man: (i) the *rūḥ* of waking (*yaḳaẓa*) which leaves the body in sleep, sees visions and returns with waking; (ii) the *rūḥ* of life which leaves the body at death; (iii) the Satanic *rūḥ* (*rūḥ al-shaiṭān*) whose particular seat, because of Ḳur. cxiv, 5, is in the breast (*ṣadr*).

Next in importance, for the broad world of Islām, to the views of Ibn Taimīya and Ibn Ḳaiyim are those of al-Ghazzālī (d. 505/1111). A very clear abstract of his fundamental position is quoted in the Dict. of techn. terms, p. 547, from the Kullīyāt of Abū-l-Baḳā' (d. 1094/1683). The *rūḥ* is not a body (*djism*), located in the body as water in a vessel, nor is it an accident (*'araḍ*), located in the heart and brain as knowledge in one who knows, but it is a substance (*djawhar*) because it knows itself and its creator and perceives intelligible things (*al-ma'ḳūlāt*, objects of the *'aḳl*). By the agreement of intelligent people (*al-'uḳalā'*) it is an indivisible part and thing, only the word "part" is not fitting, as "part" suggests "whole," unless what is meant is as in the saying, One is a part of ten. So if you take all that by which a body (*badan*) subsists as a human being (*'insān*) its *rūḥ* is one part of its compound (*djumla*); it is not in it or out of it; above all it has to be kept clear (*munazzah*) of location in loci and of being joined to bodies (*'adjsām*) and being specified by directions (*djihāt*); held sacred (*muḳaddas*) from those limitations (*'awāriḍ*). This is not a case of comparison (*tashbīh*) of man to Allāh nor does it assert that the human *rūḥ* is specifically the same as Allāh, for the specific difference of Allāh is that he is *ḳaiyūm*, that is "self-subsisting," and everything besides him subsists by him. So *al-ḳaiyūmīya* is in none but Allāh.

From this abstract the following points in al-Ghazzālī's position are clear. The human *rūḥ* is entirely non-material and is "spirit" in the

philosophical sense. This is developed at length with scholastic dialectic in his small treatise, Al-maḍnūn al-ṣaghīr (ed. Cairo 1303; cf. Spanish transl. by Asín in his Algazal, Zaragoza 1901, pp. 692–733). The Ḳur'ānic passages, xv, 29; xxxii, 8; xxxviii, 72 (Ḳur'ānic Usages I above) mean that Allāh makes the human embryo a purified and balanced compound fit to receive and retain the *rūḥ* as a wick after being soaked with oil can retain fire. The "breathing" or "blowing" is a metaphorical expression for this kindling of the light of the *rūḥ* in the "wick" of the embryo. It may be illustrated, on the one side, by the light of the sun which illuminates things whose nature it is to be brought out by light, i. e., the variegated things under the sphere of Air, and, on the other side, by the polish of a steel mirror which only when polished reflects what is in front of it. It is not like the pouring of water from a vessel upon the hand, nor even the outpouring of the rays of the sun, if these are erroneously thought of as separated from the body of the sun. The light of the sun is the cause of the production of a thing which resembles it in quality of light, although much weaker. Similarly the object reflected in the mirror is the cause of the reflection which resembles it; there is no joining or separating but simply cause and effect. The *rūḥ*, again, is not something abiding in the body, like water in a vessel, nor as an attribute or accident abides in a substance; it is a substance existing in itself, not in the heart or brain nor in space at all. It is not a body and cannot be divided; and you cannot predicate spatial relations of it any more than you can predicate knowledge or ignorance of a stone. The anthropomorphic Karrāmites and Ḥanbalites cannot conceive of such an entity (*mawdjūd*) even in the case of Allāh; for them a *mawdjūd* must be a *djism* at which you can point. The Aṣh'arites and Mu'tazilites can conceive of such a *mawdjūd*, but they limit it to Allāh himself. Locality, for them, is the only distinction between created entities. Nor does this infringe upon Allāh's most essential quality. For that quality is his being self-subsisting (*ḳaiyūm*). Thus the *Ḳaiyūmīya* of Allāh is fundamental for al-Ghazzālī's position. This Name occurs thrice in the Ḳur'ān, ii, 256; iii, 1; xx, 110. Ṭabarī (d. 310/923; Tafsīr, Part iii, p. 4) gives the oldest exegetical tradition: (i) tracing back to Mudjāhid, "he who cares for everything" (an intensive from the idiom *ḳāma bi...*); (ii) tracing back to al-Ḍaḥḥāk, "the abiding one" (*al-ḳā'im, al-dā'im*). The Lisān (author d. 711/1311; Part xv, pp. 406 ff.) is fuller but does not name al-Ḍaḥḥāk; adds al-Kalbī, "he who has no beginning (*badī'*)." It adds also a full statement of the meaning of *al-ḳaiyūm* as one of the "counted" (*ma'dūda*) names, "he who subsists by himself absolutely, not by any other, and by whom every entity subsists." This is exactly al-Ghazzālī's position and appears to be quoted, with slight changes, from his Al-maḳṣad al-'asnā

(ed. Cairo 1324, p. 71) although al-Ghazzālī is not named. But al-Rāghib (d. 502/1108) in his Mufradāt and al-Zamakhsharī (d. 538/1143) and Baiḍāwī (d. 685/1286) in their commentaries on Ḳur. ii, 256 give only the view of Mudjāhid. Al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) in his Mafātīḥ al-ghaib (ed. Cairo 1308, vol. ii, p. 305) gives and expands the views of both al-Ḍaḥḥāk and Mudjāhid, along with some others rejected as plainly absurd. Neither Ṭabarī nor Rāzī indicates clearly a preference, except in the order of their views; but the author of the Lisān seems to have adopted al-Ghazzālī's statement of the true interpretation of the word regarded as one of the Names of Allāh, and his quotation shows that al-Ghazzālī's position was becoming authoritative. More than a century later than al-Ghazzālī Ibn al-'Arabī in his Fuṣūṣ (written 627/1230) was to find the essential difference in the Sublimity (*'ulūwa;* cf. *al-'alī* and *ta'ālā*) of Allāh (Nicholson, Islamic Mysticism, p. 152). Did Baiḍāwī prefer to follow him rather than Ghazzālī on this point? It meant that the whole doctrine of "difference" (*mukhālafa*) between Allāh and his creation, built up painfully by the Mutakallims, was being swept away and that the only essential point of difference was the absolute self-sufficiency or independence (*al-istighnā' al-muṭlaḳ*) of Allāh and the dependence upon him of all his creatures. The contrast is between a *mustaghnin* and *fuḳarā'*; in philosophical language his existence is absolute and theirs is contingent or relative. This being so, there may be kinship between the *rūḥ* of man and the *rūḥ* of Allāh; the human *rūḥ,* out of all created things, has a unique relationship to Allāh and is man's means of contact with Allāh. And, conversely, Allāh's *rūḥ* is a manifestation of Allāh and his link with all existing spirits, from those controlling the spheres to man himself. As to the interpretation of Ḳur. xvii, 87, "the *rūḥ* is of the *'amr* of my Lord," the verse means that all spirits are a product of the world of divine command (*'ālam al-'amr*). They thus belong to this World of Command and so stand apart from other created things; they are entities which exist apart from sense or form, direction or space, and do not come under dimension or measure. But this does not mean that they are uncreated and were existent from all eternity. Panpsychism, also, is to be rejected once the spirits are joined to their bodies; their difference and personality is through their being joined to material bodies and not by their own nature. But this difference and personality, when so gained, is permanent and they retain it after they are separated from their bodies. This cannot but remind us of William James's guess of an ocean of soul-stuff which projects itself, here and there, into peaks of personality in material beings. But to al-Ghazzālī's critics it suggested the emanation-theory of the Neoplatonists. This is increased by passages in which the concentric heavenly spheres have each an angel, or "soul," in charge and these lead up to

a final Demiurge who receives the command (*'amr*) of Allāh and transforms it into physical contact (*mubāshara*). In the Mishkāt (ed. Cairo 1322, p. 55) this intermediary between spirit and matter is called *al-Mutā'*, "the obeyed one" or "the one who must be obeyed," a title evidently derived from the angel of revelation in the vision, Ḳur. lxxxi, 21. Cf. further on this problematical figure W. H. T. Gairdner's translation of the Mishkāt, throughout, Nicholson's Studies in Islamic Mysticism, p. 111, and the Saiyid Murtaḍā in his commentary on the Iḥyā, vol. ii, pp. 72 ff.; also the Ḳūt al-ḳulūb of al-Makkī (d. 386/996), ii, 41—al-Ghazzālī's source. It is worth noticing that the Saiyid Murtaḍā seems to find nothing questionable about this figure.

In his Risāla ladunīya (ed. Cairo 1328, pp. 7 ff.) al-Ghazzālī enters on further details in explanation of the *nafs* and the human *rūḥ*. The sharpest distinction is to be made between this *rūḥ* and the animal *rūḥ* (*al-ḥayawānī*), although Ṣūfīs call that *rūḥ nafs* and so, too, does the Ḳur'ān. But this *rūḥ* is neither physical body (*djism*) nor accident but a divine power (*ḳūwa 'ilāhīya*) like the First Reason (*al-'aḳl al-'auwal*) and the Tablet (*al-lawḥ*) and the Pen (*al-ḳalam*); these are all simple substances (*djawāhir mufrada*) separated from matter, nay they are lights (*'aḍwā'*), "stripped" of materiality (*mudjarrada*), to be reached by the Reason (*ma'ḳūla*) not by the senses (*ghair maḥsūsa*). This is called by philosophical theologians (*al-ḥukamā'*) the logical *nafs* (*nafs nāṭiḳa*) and by Ṣūfīs the heart (*ḳalb*). It is the *rūḥ 'amrī*, because of its origin, and the Ḳur'ānic "*nafs* at rest." The Mutakallims do not understand this "simple substance" [a *djawhar fard* meant for them a material atom] and make the difference between the soul and the body a matter of fineness and coarseness. In the Mishkāt, pp. 39 ff. (quoted also at length in the Dict. of techn. terms, pp. 543 f.), there is a more elaborate classification of *'arwāḥ*, making these cover all the physical powers (cf. article on *Wahm* referred to above, pp. 512 f.). (i) *Al-rūḥ al-ḥassās*, "the sense-*rūḥ*," meets what the senses bring; all animals have this; by this they are animals. (ii) *Al-rūḥ al-ḳhayālī*, "the image or picture forming"; Aristotle's φαντασία; registers and retains what the senses bring; develops in children, and some animals have it. (iii) *Al-rūḥ al-'aḳlī*, "the intelligent or reasoning"; Aristotle's νοῦς; perceiving the ideas which come from the senses and from the image-forming power; the special characteristic of man and not found in the lower animals; its percepts are universal, necessary, knowledge. (iv) *Al-rūḥ al-fikrī*, "the logical," Aristotle's διανοία, by syllogisms attains to new truths. (v) *Al-rūḥ al-ḳudsī al-nabawī*, "the holy and prophetic," the power of prophets and some saints by which the Unseen World (*al-ghaib*) is immediately revealed to them. All these can be called Lights (*'anwār;* this word is used because the whole treatise is an exposition of the

Light-verse, Ḳur. xxiv, 35 and of the tradition about the Veils of Light) since the different kinds of existent things are manifested by them, and although the lower animals partake in (i) and (ii), yet these are created in man for a further, higher, object. In animals they serve only for physical needs, but even through the senses man reaches general ideas which are beginnings of religious perception. This is an elaboration of the distinction above between the *rūḥ ḥayawānī* and the *rūḥ 'amrī* but tends to obliterate the uniqueness of the *rūḥ 'amrī*. It is to all these *'arwāḥ* and to all the faculties (*ḳuwā*) of the human body that the tradition refers, "The *'arwāḥ* are troops collected together" (*djunūd mudjannada;* Risāla ladunīya, p. 11 f.).

In the Ḳur'ān commentary, Mafātīḥ al-ghaib, of al-Rāzī (d. 606/1209) when he deals with Ḳur. xvii, 87 (ed. Cairo 1308, vol. v, pp. 429-440), besides his exposition on the text, he enters on a long discussion of the nature of human personality (*al-'insānīya*) and of the various opinions which have been held upon it. The *rūḥ* in the verse is the human soul. The tradition that the verse means that the human soul is a mystery is to be rejected. The verse means: (i) The soul is an entity different from the body and its accidents; it is a simple substance, incorporeal, originated directly by the divine *kun;* its purpose is to give life to the body. (ii) The phrase "from my Lord's command" means "from my Lord's action"; *'amr* often means *fi'l*. It is thus originated and the phrase, "ye have been given only a little knowledge" means that human souls in their original constitution (*fiṭra*) know nothing, but gradually learn. But, he adds, Allāh knows best! He, then, gives four other interpretations of *rūḥ* in this verse: that it means (i) the Ḳur'ān; (ii) a particular angel, mightiest of them all; (iii) the angel Djibrīl; (iv) a class of created beings resembling men and yet not men. He, then, considers the different views as to what constitutes the human personality (*ḥaḳīḳat al-'insān*), i. e., the "I" which knows, understands, sees, hears, is angry, &c. Most (*djumhūr*) of the Mutakallims hold that *al-'insān* is an expression for this sensible body (*al-djism al-maḥsūs*). (Cf. Ibn Ḳaiyim above.) He refutes this in two pages and a half with 17 disproofs; evidently this position had to be taken seriously. Others hold that this *al-'insān* is a corporeal body (*djism*) existing inside the human body (*badan*). This leads to a discussion of the nature of the physical bodies existing in this lower world (*al-'ālam al-sufli*); these are the four elements—earth, air, fire, water—or results of the combination of these. In the human body there can be only the results of combinations of these, and the combinations in which earthiness and wateriness predominate are, in this connection, left out of account by all intelligent people, except those who hold that the blood is the *rūḥ,* because death follows its leaving the body. The combinations in which air and fire predominate are in a different posi-

tion. These are called "the spirits" (*al-'arwāḥ*) and are of two kinds. Airy bodies mixed with natural heat (*al-ḥarāra al-ġharīzīya*) arise either in the heart or in the brain and are said to be the *rūḥ* and *al-'insān*. Some say that *al-'insān* is the *rūḥ* that is in the heart; others that it is an indivisible part (an atom) in the brain and others that *al-rūḥ* is an expression for fiery parts mixed in those brain and heart-spirits and that those fiery parts—otherwise called the natural heat—are *al-'insān*. All these are evidently attempts by materialists to avoid the idea that the *rūḥ* is a non-material substance. Others, again, hold that the *rūḥ* is an expression for bodies of light, heavenly, fine of substance (*'adjsām nūrānīya samāwīya laṭīfat al-djawhar*), of the nature of sunshine (*ḍaw' al-shams*), not susceptible of dissolution, interchange, separation or scattering. Then, whenever the body (*badan*) comes into being, and its equipment is complete,—and that is the meaning of Allāh's saying, "I made it symmetrical" (Ḳur. xv, 29; xxxviii, 72; see Baiḍāwī on both passages)—these lofty, heavenly, divine bodies interpenetrate the members of the (physical) body as fire interpenetrates charcoal and sesame oil sesame seeds, &c. This interpenetration of those heavenly bodies in the substance of those (physical) bodies is what is meant in Allāh's saying, "and I blew into him some of my *rūḥ*" (Ḳur. xv, 29; xxxii, 8; xxxviii, 72; cf. Ḳur'ānic Usages I above). So long as the physical body remains sound and capable of receiving this interpenetration it remains alive. But when there arise in the body coarse admixtures (*'akhlāṭ ghalīẓa*) which hinder the running (*sarayān*) of these lofty bodies in it, these are separated from the physical body and death occurs. This, says Rāzī, is a powerful and distinguished position (*madhhab ḳawī sharīf*) which calls for careful consideration; it agrees closely as to the conditions of life and death with what we learn from Revelation.

That "man" (*al-'insān*) is an accident (*'araḍ*), dwelling in the body, he rejects as absurd, because man is evidently a substance, describable with knowledge, power, control, and no substance can be an accident. But there will be general agreement that man is a substance describable by specific accidents, and, in accordance with this, views divide. Some hold that when the four elements are mingled, and the vehemence (*sawra*) of one is broken by the vehemence of another, there results a balanced modality (*kaifīya mu'tadila*) which is a mixture and these mixtures are infinite in number; one may be the quality of a man (*al-'insānīya*) and another of a horse (*al-farasīya*). *'Insānīya,* then, is an expression for the essential quality in certain bodies describable as produced by the mixture of elemental parts in a certain proportion. This is the position of the majority of physicians (*'aṭibbā'*) who deny that the *nafs* continues after death. It was also the position of Abū-l Ḥusain al-Baṣrī, the Mu'tazilite. A second position is that "man" is an expression for specific bodies which are under the condition that they

are describable with the qualities, Life, Knowledge, Power, and that Life is an accident subsisting in the body. This denies both *rūḥ* and *nafs* and says that there is nothing but bodies in mutual relationships (*mu'talif*) describable with those four specific accidents. This is the position of most Mu'tazilites. Finally, among those assertors that man is a physical compound of the four elements, possessing those four qualities or accidents, are some who hold that the only difference between man and the other animals is in the shape of his body and the fashion of his limbs and parts—a hard saying, adds Rāzī.

The next view is evidently his own and is that "man"—this essential man—is an entity which is not a body (*djism*) and possesses no materiality (*djismānīya*). This is the position of most of the theistic philosophers who hold that the *nafs* abides after death and who maintain for the *nafs* a spiritual resurrection (*ma'ād rūḥānī*) and spiritual reward and punishment and reckoning. (On "spiritual" here cf. Ghazzālī's Maḍnūn, ed. Cairo 1303, pp. 38 ff.) This is the position of a great number of the learned among Muslims, such as al-Rāghib al-'Iṣfahānī (d. 502/1108), al-Ghazzālī (d. 505/1111), of the earlier Mu'tazilites Ma'mar b. 'Abbād al-Sulamī, of the Shī'a al-Shaikh al-Mufīd (? Muḥammad b. al-Nu'mān al-Baghdādī al-Mufīd, d. 413/1022; Brockl. i, p. 188?) and a great number of the Karrāmīya. Those who thus uphold the existence of the *nafs* fall into two groups: (i) the sounder, or more exact, in their position (*al-muḥaḳḳiḳūn*) hold that "man" is an expression for this specific substance (*djawhar*) along with this body (*badan*). So "man" does not exist inside the world nor outside it, nor joined with it nor separated from it. But his connection with his body is a connection of directing and governing, like the connection of God with the world. [Cf. with this the discussion of the Thomist doctrine of the relation of soul and body in Étienne Gilson's Le Thomisme, Paris, 1927, pp. 180 ff.] (ii) The other position is that when the *nafs* is connected with its body it is unified with it and becomes the "self" (*'ain*) of the body and the body becomes the "self" of the *nafs* and these so combined in this "unifying" (*ittiḥād*) are the "man." When death comes this unifying is annulled, and the *nafs* remains, but the body passes away in corruption. A somewhat similar view is then ascribed to Thābit b. Ḳurra, the mathematician and physician, (d. 288/901; Fihrist, p. 272 and by index; Sarton, History of Science, vol. i, p. 599 and by index). He upheld the existence of the *nafs* and that it was connected with certain heavenly and fine bodies (*'adjsām*) of the nature of light and that these were running (*sāriya*) in the human body, and that so long as this "running" continued the *nafs* controlled the human body. This seems to be the first appearance of the metaphor of the soul "running" in the body like water in green wood. About four pages follow on the proofs

given by those who establish this as the nature of the *nafs* on the basis of reason (*min nāḥiyati-l-ʿaḳl*), and Rāzī finally refers for further details to his philosophical (*ḥikmīya*) works. A page and a half on further proofs on authority (*samʿīya*) close his discussion.

In the Mawāḳif of al-Īdjī (d. 756/1355; ed. Būlāḳ 1266 with commentary of al-Djurdjānī, d. 816/1413; pp. 456–461) there is a long scholastic discussion of the nature of the *nafs*, as to corporeality, origination and connection with the body. (i) Are the souls of the spheres (*al-nufūs al-falakīya*) incorporeal or corporeal? (ii) Is the human *nafs*, called also the logical soul (*al-nafs al-nāṭiḳa*) incorporeal? The majority hold that it is corporeal but al-Ghazzālī, al-Rāghib and a number of the Ṣūfīs hold the opposite. (iii) Is the logical soul originated (*ḥādith*) and in what sense? This leads to a disproof of metempsychosis. (iv) What is the nature of the connection of the *nafs* with the body? It seems unnecessary to give here further details on these topics.

The compiler of the Dict. of techn. terms (wrote 1158/1745) follows his quotation given above from the Mishkāt of al-Ghazzālī with a still more sweeping statement (p. 544), "Every sensible (*maḥsūs*) thing possesses a *rūḥ*," a statement of straight animism but not an animism of innumerable separate spirits but of a spiritual control of every element in the world, going back to and proceeding from the only Reality, Allāh himself. He expands his statement from two sources. (i) The Tahdhīb al-kalām: "Philosophical theologians (*al-ḥukamāʾ*) assert that the angels are non-material intelligences (*ʿuḳūl*) and that the souls (*nufūs*) of the spheres and the djinn are non-material *ʾarwāḥ* who possess control over elemental things (*al-ʿunṣurīyāt*) and that the devil (*al-shaiṭān*) is the non-rational instrument of thinking (*al-ḳūwa al-mutaḳhaiyila;* see article on *Wahm* referred to above, p. 513; Iblīs for Islām does not possess *ʿaḳl*). Every sphere has a universal *rūḥ* from which many *ʾarwāḥ* branch off (*yanshaʿib*) and the controller of the *ʿArsh* is called the universal *nafs* and every species (*nawʿ*) of the changing things of the sensible world (*al-kāʾināt*) has a *rūḥ* controlling it and these are called their 'perfect natural constitutions'" (*al-ṭabāʾiʿ al-tāmma;* thus every one has a "perfect constitution" which may appear to him in dreaming as a person [*shaḳhṣ*] and reveal to him what he wishes to know; Ibn Khaldūn, Prolegomena, ed. Quatremère i, p. 190; De Slane, i, p. 218). This is evidently meant to cover all the separate things of which the world, the Aristotelian-Neoplatonic Cosmos, is made up and to assert that each has a governing *rūḥ* of one kind or another. (ii) The book called Al-ʾinsān al-kāmil (see further below): "Every sensible thing has a created *rūḥ* by which its form (*ṣūra,* εἶδος) exists and the *rūḥ* of that form is like the meaning (*maʿnā*) of a word (*lafẓ*). Next, that created *rūḥ* has a divine

(*'ilāhī*) *rūḥ* by which it exists and that divine *rūḥ* is the holy *rūḥ* (*rūḥ al-ḳudus*) which is called the *rūḥ* of *rūḥ's* and which must never be brought under the (creative) word *kun* ('Become!'). That is, it is uncreated because it is a special aspect (*wadjh*) of the (many) aspects of the Divine Reality (*al-ḥaḳḳ*) in which being (*wudjūd*) subsists (*ḳāma bihi*). It is what was 'blown' (*manfūkh;* Ḳur. Usage I above) into Adam; so the *rūḥ* of Adam is created and the *rūḥ* of Allāh is uncreated. That aspect in everything is the *rūḥ* of Allāh and the holy *rūḥ;* that is, it is to be kept holy, or remote, from the defects of 'becoming-ness' (*al-kawnīya*). The *rūḥ* of a thing is its self (*nafs*) and being exists in the *nafs* of Allāh and his *nafs* is his essence (*dhāt*). So when any one considers the holy *rūḥ* in a man he sees that it is created, for two eternal (*ḳadīm*) things cannot exist—there is no eternal except Allāh alone, and all his names and qualities inhere in his essence and cannot be disentangled from it; everything else is created. Man, for example, has a body (*djasad*), which is his form (*ṣūra*) and a spirit which is the meaning (*ma'nā*) of him and a Secret (*sirr*) which is this *rūḥ* and a (divine) aspect which can be rendered as the holy *rūḥ* and the divine Secret and the existence which circulates in all (*al-wudjūd al-sārī*). So whenever the preponderant upon a man consists of the things which his 'form,' i. e., his fleshly, sensual being demands his *rūḥ* acquires a material sediment (*rasūb ma'danī*) which is the source of his form (*ṣūra*) and the place of origin of its locus (*maḥall*), to the point that his *rūh* almost contradicts its original world (*'ālam 'aṣlī*), because the fleshly requirements become established in it and it is limited in the form from its absolute spirituality. So it comes to be in the prison (*sidjn*) of physical things (*al-ṭabī'a*) and custom (*al-'āda*) [i. e., what we would call 'physical law']. That, in this world, is the counterpart (*mithāl*) of al-Sidjdjīn (Ḳur. lxxxiii, 7, 8) in the world to come. Nay, Sidjdjīn itself is that in which the *rūḥ* abides, but Sidjdjīn in the world to come is a sensible prison of the Fire and in this world is this idea just mentioned. For the world to come is a place in which ideas emerge as sensible forms. Contrariwise, whenever spiritual things are the preponderant on a man because he continues in sound thinking (*fikr*) and little eating and sleeping and speaking and he abandons the things which his fleshly nature demands, then his structure (*haikal*) gains spiritual fineness, so that he can walk upon water and fly in the air and walls do not limit him nor distance of countries. So he comes to be in the highest ranges of created things; and that is the world of spirits, absolute from the limitations which result from companying with bodies (*'adjsām*). This is what the saying of Allāh indicates, 'The pure are in pleasantness' (Ḳur. lxxxii, 13; lxxxiii, 22)."

In Ḳur'ānic Usage V above three passages refer to "the angels and the *Rūh.*" These have formed the basis for a doctrine that, in the

background of all existence, between Allāh and his creatures, there is one individual and pre-eminent Spirit. This doctrine appeared already in the Mishkāt (see above) of al-Ghazzālī in a vague form, connected with the system of the spheres and their "souls." Ibn al-'Arabī (d. 638/1240) in his Fuṣūṣ (ed. Cairo 1309; with commentary by al-Kāshānī, d. 730/1329) has already as a name for this being "The Perfect Man" (*al-'insān al-kāmil*). This is related to a doctrine that the essences (*dhawāt*) of all the prophets are individualized (*ta'aiyun*) and immaterial "words" from Allāh (cf. article Kalima in the Encyclopedia of Islam) proceeding from him by direct creation through the word *kun,* and existing apart from space and time in the World of Command. This conception proved very fertile and was linked up with many expressions and phases of esoteric doctrine. It fitted into the Neoplatonic scheme; into the belief that Adam, the archetypal man, the first prophet, was created in the *ṣūra* of Allāh; into the Shī'ite conception of the infallible Imām, with the kindred doctrine of the Light of Muḥammad and the transmission of the identity of Muḥammad; into Ṣūfī ideas of Allāh seeing himself reflected in the human heart and especially in that of a super-man, a microcosm of a higher order; into the doctrine of the Ḳuṭb in at least a spiritual form; and into a broad Logos doctrine to which the Ḳur'ānic use of *kalima* as applied to 'Īsā (Ḳur. iii, 34, 40) had led Ibn al-'Arabī. All these joined the development at different points and became entangled together in different schemes. The immediate origin of the phrase "the perfect man" is very obscure. To us it suggests at once Paul's εἰς ἄνδρα τέλειον (Ephes. iv, 13) in its context of "building up the body of Christ." And that leads back to the Perfect Man in the Greek Mysteries (cf. Lightfoot on Colossians i, 28 and Kennedy, St. Paul and the Mystery Religions, pp. 130 ff.). On another side it fits into the contrast of macrocosm and microcosm in which the Cosmos is also called the Great Man. Its most elaborate statement is in the book of al-Djīlī (d. circa 813/1410; see Goldziher's article on him in the Encyclopedia of Islam, vol. i, p. 46) Al-'insān al-kāmil, which, after al-Ghazzālī, has perhaps had the greatest influence in spiritualizing Muslim theology. See on it the thorough study in chap. ii of Nicholson's Islamic Mysticism. But in the Ta'rīfāt of al-Djīlī's contemporary al-Djurdjānī (d. 816/1413; ed. Cairo 1321, p. 25) is a short statement which shows the Logos side of the Perfect Man. Man is defined as the logical (*nāṭiḳa*) animal. Then, the Perfect Man is "the combiner of all the worlds, divine and transitory (*kawnīya*), universal and particular. He is a Book which combines the divine and transitory books. As to his *rūḥ* and reason he is a rational book called the Mother of the Book (i. e., the divine archetype of all scripture); as to his mind (*ḳalb*) he is the book of the Preserved Tablet; as to his *nafs* he is the book of "obliteration and permanence" (*maḥw,*

'ithāt; i. e., revealed scripture). So he is the Honoured Leaves (*ṣuḥuf;* Ḳur. liii, 37; lxxxvii, 18, 19; xcviii, 2), raised, purified, which none may touch and the secrets of which none may attain save those who are purified from veils of darkness. Thus the relation of the First Reason to the macrocosm and its realities, as they are in themselves, is the same as the relation of the human soul to the body and its faculties. And the universal *nafs* is the mind (*ḳalb*) of the macrocosm just as the logical *nafs* is the mind of man; therefore the Cosmos is called "the Great Man." In this, apparently, are combined the two meanings λόγος, *ratio* and *oratio,* reason and revelation.

Al-Djīlī deals thus with this pre-eminent Spirit (Dict. of techn. terms, p. 545): The angel who is called "the *Rūḥ*" is the one called technically by Ṣūfīs "the Reality by which is created" (*al-ḥaḳḳ al-maḳhlūḳ bihi*) and "the Idea of Muḥammad" (*al-ḥaḳīḳa al-muḥammadīya*). Allāh looked at this angel as he looks at himself; then he created him from his light and created the world from him and made him the *locus* of his looking in respect of the world (*? min al-'ālam*). One of his names is "Command of Allah" (*'amr Allāh*); he is the noblest of created things and their loftiest in station; there is no angel above him; he is the lord of those sent (*al-mursalīn*) and the most excellent of the honoured (*al-mukarramīn*). Know that Allāh created this angel as a mirror for his own essence; Allāh is not manifested as to essence except in this angel and his manifestation in all (other) created things is only as to his qualities. He is the Axis (*ḳuṭb*) of this world and that to come and of the People of the Garden and of the Fire and of al-'A'rāf (i. e., of all beings, the saved, the lost and those in Limbo). The Divine Idea (*al-ḥaḳīḳa al-'ilāhīya*) requires, in the knowledge of Allāh, that he (Allāh) creates nothing in which this angel has not an "aspect" (*wadjh*), that creation revolving on this "aspect," for he is its Axis. [This use of the word "aspect" in the sense of "relationship," "part" seems connected with the metaphor of Allāh's creating by looking (*naẓar*) which in turn goes back to the Ḳur'ānic use of "face of Allah" (*wadjh Allāh*) for the self of Allāh.] But this angel does not make himself known to any of Allāh's creation except the Perfect Man. Then whenever a *walī* knows him (this angel), he teaches him (certain) things, and whenever the *walī* realizes these he becomes an Axis on which turns all the mill of existence, yet not primarily but as a representative and manifestation. [On this relation of the human Ḳuṭb to the "real" (*ḥaḳīḳī*) Ḳuṭb see Nicholson, pp. 111, 195.] This Spirit is that mentioned by Allāh (Ḳur. lxxviii, 38; Ḳur'ānic Usages V above), "on the day when the Spirit and the angels will stand in rows." This angel has his place in the divine rule (*dawla*) and the (other) angels are standing before him in rows in his service (*fī khidmatihi*), but he is standing in wor-

ship of the Reality (*fī 'ubūdīyat al-ḥaḳḳ*), administering freely (*mutaṣarrif*) that divine Presence (*ḥaḍra*) as Allāh commands him. And the saying of Allāh (Ḳur. lxxviii, 38), "they do not speak except he to whom Allāh gives permission" applies to the angels but not to him, for he has speech permitted to him absolutely, in the divine Presence, for he is the most complete manifestation (*maẓhar*) of that Presence, while the (other) angels, although speaking is permitted to them, yet each angel speaks only one word, more than that is not in an angel's power, so he has no freedom (*basṭ*) in speech. So the first thing that happens in the carrying out a (divine) command (*'amr*) in the world is that Allāh creates from this Spirit an angel suitable for that Command, and the Spirit sends him, and the angel does what the Spirit commands him. All the angels "brought near" to Allāh (*al-muḳarrabūn,* Ḳur. iv, 170; cf. article Malā'ika in the Encyclopedia of Islam, iii, 190a) such as Isrāfīl, Mīkā'īl, Djibrā'īl, 'Azrā'īl are created from him, and he who is above these, the angel who stands under the throne (*kursī*) and the angel who is called al-Mufaḍḍal (the Preferred or Graced) who stands under the Clear Guide (*al-'imām al-mubīn;* cf. Ḳur. xxxvi, 11 where Baiḍāwī says it is the Preserved Tablet; cf. also Ḳur. lxxviii, 29). These are the Lofty Ones (*al-'ālūna*) who were not commanded to prostrate themselves to Adam... This angel has many names according to the number of his aspects. He is called the Loftiest (*al-'a'lā*) and the *Rūḥ* of Muḥammad and the Divine *Rūḥ,* but in the divine Presence he has only one name, "the *Rūḥ.*" See, further, on this conception Nicholson, pp. 108 ff.

The extremely abstruse subject of the Perfect Man, whether as sketched by Ibn al-'Arabī or developed by al-Djīlī, enters this article only indirectly by its relation to this absolute *Rūḥ.* Adam, as federal mankind and as the representative (*khalīfa*) of Allāh, all the prophets in turn as λόγοι (*kalim*) and Muḥammad especially as not only the Seal of the prophets but the pre-existent cause of everything, an Arian Christ and a supreme Logos, all are similarly related. And thus the conception of *Rūḥ* in the Ḳur'ān reached its culmination and explanation. That something of this kind was embryonically in the mind of Muḥammad seems at least probable.

It will be observed that the development above divides roughly into three stages. First there is the Ḳur'ānic position, an inheritance on Muḥammad's part from beyond Arabia and Arabic, the ultimate sources of which are obscure to us and which were unknown to the later Muslims. So the knowledge of what *rūḥ* meant in the Ḳur'ān was early lost. Yet this Ḳur'ānic position came to be essentially understood by some later thinkers through sheer insight. Secondly, there is the position of the pious immediately after Muḥammad. In the beginning these probably had some knowledge of the influences upon Muḥammad,

a knowledge which later died out. But their attitudes have remained fixed to this day among the masses of Islām. Thirdly, there are those positions of later thinkers upon the subject which made a permanent imprint on the thoughtful Muslim mind. These permanent imprints are faithfully reflected in the article in the Dict. of techn. terms. These thinkers often came very close to the mind of Muḥammad but added also an immense amount from philosophies and theologies quite outside of his knowledge.

It has been impossible in the statement above to keep any strict chronological sequence. Also, movements of thought may well have appeared and worked before they were registered in dated books by specific authors. Against this confusion the following list of authors quoted with their death-dates may help:—Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal 241/855; Thābit b. Ḳurra 288/901; Ṭabarī 310/923; Makkī 386/996; Ḳushairī 465/1074; Hudjwīrī betw. 465, 469/1072, 1076; Rāghib 502/1108; Ghazzālī 505/1111; Zamakhsharī 538/1143; Rāzī 606/1209; Ibn al-Fāriḍ 632/1235; Ibn al-'Arabī 638/1240; Baiḍāwī 685/1286; Author of Lisān 711/1311; Ibn Taimīya 728/1328; Kāshānī 730/1329; Ibn Ḳaiyim 751/1350; Īdjī 756/1355; Ibn Khaldūn 808/1406; Djīlī circ. 813/1410; Djurdjānī 816/1413; 'Anṣārī 926/1520; Abū-l-Baḳā' 1094/1683; Compiler Dict. techn. terms wrote 1158/1745; Saiyid Murtaḍa 1206/1790; 'Arūsī wrote 1271/1854.

In the thinking and philosophically minded Islām of the present day the influence of the above nexus of ideas and hypotheses cannot be over-estimated. In that direction is drifting the creative religious thought of Islām. But it has to fight for its life against western influences in education and general civilization which are specifically non-philosophical or materialistic and mechanical in their philosophy. The Reality that is Allāh is pitted against the reality of material fact. And another element from the West has entered the conflict. For more than twenty years articles on various phases of modern spiritism have appeared in the Cairene monthly, Al-Muḳtaṭaf; e. g., on spirit-photographs in the number for Dec. 1928. And the Muslim East has no such preliminary prejudice against spirit manifestations as exists with us. So there is growing up rapidly an extensive spiritist literature such as Al-'arwāḥ by Shaikh Ṭanṭāwī Djawharī (ii ed. Cairo 1920), which connects itself easily with the ghost-stories of orthodox Muslim literature of edification and hence normally uses the word *rūḥ* for "ghost." The colloquial usage is different.

On the folk-lore and psychical research side not much has yet been gathered up. It is only recently that travellers and residents in the East have taken such things seriously; and they have been greatly handicapped by oriental acceptance of spirits as a matter of course and consequent slackness in ideas on evidence. Also few students of the Muslim

East have been trained in folk-lore and psychical research. Exceptional are the books of A. M. Spoer (Mrs. H. H. Spoer) which all contain more or less of this material. Cf. especially her series of articles in the Occult Review for 1905, Hauntings in the Near East. In S. M. Zwemer's Influence of Animism on Islam (New York, 1920) there is a very large collection of evidence from Arabic literature and personal observation. In the older travel literature there are significant details on Cairene hauntings in The Englishwoman in Egypt, by a sister of E. W. Lane, Letters iv, xiv, xvii; in Bayle St. John's Residence in a Levantine Family, chap. xx; in Harems et Musulmanes d'Égypte by Niya Salima, xiv; in My Life Story, by Emily, Shareefa of Wazan, especially pp. 86, 140.

The following articles in the Encyclopedia of Islam bear, in various ways, folkloristic and theological, on Spirit:—Budūḥ, Djafr, Djinn, Ghawth, Ghūl, Hātif, Ḥizb, 'Ifrīt, Ḳarīn, Ḳiyāma, Malā'ika, Siḥr, Sīmiyā'; see, also, further references in the bibliography to each.

The use of the words *rūḥ, 'arwāḥ, rūḥānī* in connection with the djinn is obscure. In the Lisān, iii. p. 290 foot, it is said that *rūḥānī* can be applied only to spirits who have no bodies (*'adjsād*), as angels, djinn and the like. Further, p. 291, l. 4, a tradition is quoted in which the djinn are called *'arwāḥ* and it is said that this, so used of them, is a metaphor (*kināya*) because they are invisible; apparently they are not *'arwāḥ* in themselves. But in the Tādj *'arwāḥ* in this tradition is said to be a plural of *rīḥ*, "wind"; they are invisible like the wind. In the Fihrist, p. 308, ll. 22, 24, magicians profess to control *shaiṭān's*, djinn and *'arwāḥ*, as though a separate class. And in the Ākām al-mardjān, p. 8 foot, *'arwāḥ* are a separate class of djinn who molest children (*yaʿriḍ lil-ṣibyān*). In present day Egypt *rūḥ*, to judge from Spiro's Arabic-English Vocabulary, does not seem to be used of the djinn. The only trace (under *rāḥ*, p. 212) is *maryūḥ*, like *madjnūn*, "possessed by an evil spirit." The normal word in Egypt and elsewhere for the haunting ghost of a murdered man is *'ifrīt* (see this article in the Encyclopedia of Islam). But *rīḥ* occurs once in this sense in Willmore's Spoken Arabic of Egypt, ed. ii, p. 374. This may be a variant form of *rūḥ*, but it may also be *rīḥ*, "wind," which is used of the djinn. But *rūḥānī*, because of its wide meaning "spiritual," has come into general use for all contact with the spirit world. This is shown in Lane's long note on magic in his Thousand and One Nights (chap. i, note 15) and in S. A. Hillam's Shaykh Hassan, the Spiritualist (London, 1888), which, though cast in the form of a story, is evidently based on first-hand experiences in Syria.

Bibliography: Has been given in the article. For the later development the most important source is Nicholson's Studies in Islamic Mysticism (Cambridge, 1921), passim. Also his Idea of Personality

in Ṣūfism (Cambridge, 1923). By far the fullest treatment of Ibn al-'Arabī is that of Miguel Asín Palacios, El Místico Murciano Abenarabi (Four Parts in the Boletin de la Academia de la Historia, Madrid, 1925–1928). See, also, Nyberg, Kleinere Schriften von Ibn al-'Arabī (Leiden, 1919; especially pp. 120 ff.); Tor Andrae, Die Person Muhammeds (Upsala, 1917); Massignon, Passion d'al-Hallaj (Paris, 1922; pp. 480 ff. and by index under *roûh*); Muhammad Iqbal, Development of Metaphysics in Persia (London, 1908).

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OLD ISRAELITISH TRADITION IN THE KORAN*

Almost a century ago Abraham Geiger published a book which attempted to prove the dependence of some of the Koranic accounts and teachings upon those of Judaism.[1] It was the work of a pioneer, composed at a time when our knowledge of Mohammedanism was scanty and nebulous. Moreover, the author did not treat his subject from all possible angles; indeed, being quite aware of that, he thus apologizes for limiting the scope of his inquiry:[2] "In the case of any single instance of borrowing, the proof that the passage is really of Jewish origin must rest on two grounds. First, it must be shown to exist in Judaism, and we have every facility for proving this. Secondly, before we can be certain, we must prove that it is really borrowed, i. e., that it is not founded on anything in old Arabian tradition . . . Then again we must show that it had its origin in Judaism and not in Christianity. For the complete discussion of the last two points it would be necessary to write two treatises similar to the one on which I am now engaged, of which the respective subjects would be (1) the points of contact between Islam and the ancient tradition of the Arabs, (2) the points of contact between Islam and Christianity. Only in this way could certainty be attained on these points. But these investigations would, on the one hand, lead us too far away from our specific subject, and, on the

* I wish to express my thanks to Professor Ginzberg for his valuable suggestions and for calling my attention to some Rabbinic passages bearing upon the subject. In the following his remarks are indicated by the initial [G]. [The Editor of The Moslem World also expresses his thanks for permission to reprint this paper from the Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research.]

1 Geiger, *Was hat Mohammed aus dem Judenthume aufgenommen,* (Bonn, 1833).

2 *Judaism and Islam* by Abraham Geiger; translated from the German by a member of the Ladies' League in Aid of the Delhi Mission (Madras, 1898), p. 29.

other, would require much more exact treatment than we could give them while handling our main theme. Then, too, they are made unnecessary by the *means* which we use in each individual case and which will become clear in the different divisions of the work; so that without them we can attain to a high degree of probability on most points, a degree practically sufficient for all scientific purposes."

The author's reference to "means" proves upon examination to be quite mysterious. We must therefore conclude that it is a cryptic way of saying that the Rabbinic and Koranic passages which he selected for comparison are so astoundingly similar that a third religious tradition could hardly also be identical. That such a procedure is not always safe may be seen from the following example. The Koranic statement (Sura 46, 14) that forty is the age of intellectual and moral maturity seems to Geiger dependent upon the saying of the Fathers, "At forty [the age is reached] for understanding" (*Abot,* 5.)[3] But this is not the case. The Quraysh had a sort of Witenagemot in whose counsels only distinguished tribesmen of forty or upwards were allowed to participate.[4] Abu Jahl is cited as an exception. Because of his acute and sound judgment he was admitted to membership at the age of thirty. Mohammed's assertion, therefore, grew out of a time-honored Jahiliyya institution.

Yet, we cannot say that Geiger failed to prove his general thesis. Recent research may have slightly reduced the long list of Mohammedan debts to Judaism; but even after a hundred years Geiger's evidence in favor of Jewish influence is still so overwhelming that future discoveries will probably never affect it seriously. While it is true that his results are based upon arguments from silence, it must be admitted that absolute proofs are almost unattainable in the field of comparative religion. Nor did Geiger claim to have secured them. All he

3 *Was hat Mohammed* etc., p. 90.
4 Ibn Durayd, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 97.

hoped for in his work was, in his own words, "a high degree of probability."

Geiger had many successors. Some devoted special studies to the subject, some made casual contributions. Partly because of the newly discovered sources to which they had access, their efforts have considerably enriched our knowledge of the influence exerted by Judaism on Islam. Some literary records of the final decades of the pre-Islamic period have been particularly helpful in this regard. Geiger had no knowledge of these records. His chapter entitled "Did Mohammed borrow from Judaism?" has the following preamble:[5] "For the answer to this question we are thrown back entirely on the Koran, as we have no other literature of the same date treating the matter in question." Now that we possess pre-Koranic material dealing with Hebrew tradition, we may investigate the influence of Judaism not only upon Islam, but upon ancient Arabia as well.

However, when we examine some of the accounts of Mohammed's precursors we observe that their succinct reports of Biblical stories often contain details which are in flagrant contradiction to the Biblical narrative and which, furthermore, sharply disagree with the Apocryphal and Rabbinic versions. Umayya ibn Abi al-Salt, an older contemporary of Mohammed, thus describes Noah's ship in the midst of the raging elements:[6]

> "(It rose) upon the surface of iridescent waters which heretofore no mariner thought navigable."
> "And the ship sailed in it uninterruptedly for seven days and six dark nights."

The last sentence closely resembles the phrase in the Sumerian version of the deluge "when for seven days and nights the flood overwhelmed the land," which, in turn, is paralleled in the Semitic by "six days and nights the wind drives, the deluge tempest overwhelms the land."[7] That Umayya's "seven-and-six count" is not a combina-

5 *Judaism and Islam*, pp. 26–27.
6 Umayya ibn Abi al-Salt, ed. Schulthess, (Leipzig, 1911), p. 39. (*Beiträge zur Assyriologie*, VIII).
7 Clay, *A Hebrew Deluge Story in Cuneiform*, p. 12. (Yale Oriental Series, V, 3).

tion of the other two figures, nor an invention of his own, but a numerical device to mark off the seventh night for the inception of new events, follows from another passage of the Gilgamesh epic, "six days and seven nights came forth Enkidu."[8] Is Umayya's statement based upon Babylonian sources or upon an independent Arab tradition? Neither seems to be the case. We shall revert to this matter later on. In the meantime we shall take up other examples.

In 1895 Macdonald attempted to prove that[9] "the writer of our present book of Job made use of a popular legend which may have been either written or oral in form. That he, however, considerably altered and developed the legend, treating it freely as the Greek tragedians treated the heroic myths, or as the story of Tristram and Iseult has been variously developed by different poets of our century. That he, especially, changed the whole attitude of Job towards his sufferings and Him who sent them. That, while in the original legend, Job, as so often in folk-tales, was patient throughout and uttered no word of complaint against his God, the Job of the new poem could not express himself too strongly against the world as he experienced it and its Ruler as he was compelled to imagine Him. That patience and resignation could in no terms be predicated of the Job of our present book." The above view, based entirely upon the analysis of the book itself, in 1898 was reënforced by Macdonald with external evidence.[10] To quote again: "In Ezekiel 14, 14–20, Job . . . is adduced, beside Noah and Daniel, as a possessor of צדקה, righteousness. This one fact, taken in connection with Ezekiel's own character and with the drift of the passage, renders it impossible that we can have here a reference to the hero of our canonical book . . . Theodore of Mopsuestia (who died in 428 or 429 C. E.) . . . witnesses to the

8 Langdon, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, p. 213. (University of Pennsylvania, *the University Museum Publications of the Babylonian Section*, vol. X, No. 3).
9 *Journal of Biblical Literature*, XIV, pp. 63–71; the quotation is from the *American Journal of the Semitic Languages*, XIV, pp. 137–164.
10 *AJSL*, XIV, pp. 137–164.

existence in his time of a popular story of Job, in which Job was *iustus.*" Macdonald is of the opinion that the Koranic account of Job embodies one form or another of the Syrian folk-tale referred to by Theodore. In Sura 21, 83–84, we read: "And (remember) Job: When he cried to his Lord 'Truly evil hath touched me: but Thou art the most merciful of those who show mercy.' So we heard him and lightened the burden of his woe; and we gave him back his family, and as many more with them —a mercy from Us, and a memorial for those who serve Us. And remember Our servant Job when he cried to his Lord, 'Satan hath laid on me disease and pain.' 'Stamp,' said We, 'with thy foot. This is a place to wash in, cool and a beverage.' And we gave him back his family, and as many more with them, in our mercy; and as a monition to men of understanding. And We (said). 'Take in thy hand a rod, strike with it, nor break thine oath.' Verily, We found him patient! How excellent a servant! Verily he was one who frequently turned himself to us!"

Let us turn to Umayya again. Another interesting passage of his is that concerning the sacrifice of Isaac:[11]

"'O my beloved son, I have vowed thee a victim to Allah.
"Be composed, I would ransom thee with my maternal uncle.'
"And the lad responded to that saying: 'Every gift to Allah must be undissembling.
"O father, may Allah recompense thee through me who puts his trust in Him under all circumstances.
"Fulfill therefore what thou hast vowed and take care that my tunic defile not my blood.
"And bind me fast that I shrink not from the knife like a manacled captive.
"And while suffering from the wound, raise not my hands to seize my bearded chin.'
"And his was a sharp knife, lusting after flesh, and crescent-shaped like the new moon.
"While he stripped him of his tunic, the Lord redeemed him with a sinewy ram,
"Saying: 'Take this and let thy son free; I am pleased with what ye both have done'."

11 Umayya, ed. Schulthess, p. 33.

The very striking feature of this account, of course, is that Abraham's offering of his son is depicted as votive and not as commanded by God. Abraham is ready to fulfill his vow and seems to suffer no more than any other father would in an age when human sacrifice was a popular institution. Isaac is the hero of the account. His filial submissiveness and stoic resignation to fate are pictured as singular and supreme. The Koranic version is as follows: "(Abraham) said (unto him): 'O my son, verily I saw in a dream that I should offer thee in sacrifice, consider therefore what thou art of opinion (I should do).' He answered: 'O my father, do what thou art commanded; thou shalt find me, if Allah please, a patient person.' And when they had submitted themselves (to the divine will), and (Abraham) had laid (his son) prostrate on his face, We cried unto him; 'O Abraham, now hast thou verified the vision.' Thus do We reward the righteous. Verily this was a manifest trial. And We ransomed him with a noble victim." (Sura, 37, 101–107). Abraham's part here is by far more pathetic. The command to sacrifice his son was intended to test his piety. Isaac's part, however, remains unchanged; he still has all the earmarks of a would-be martyr. In Genesis, Abraham is given the same exalted rôle, but that of Isaac is stripped of all heroic significance. He is unaware of his father's intentions, even though carrying the wood for his own pyre. The Umayya poem is still heathen in background. Abraham's religion would permit him to offer his child in sacrifice. Evidently the primary aim of the story was to give divine sanction to the law of substitution. In the Koran Abraham's act is decreed, but implicitly and in a dream. Indeed some interpreters doubt whether the command referred to the actual slaying.[12] In the Hebrew version the command is undisguised and direct; thus, unlike the Koran, it retains no trace of the original motive for the sacrifice. The purpose of the story as told by the Biblical writer, was, there-

12 Ibn Jassas, *Aḥkam al-Qur'an*, (Constantinople, 1335), III, p. 377.

fore, to lay the entire emphasis on Abraham's unconditional loyalty to God, an ideal trait for the father of a race whose mission it was to promulgate God's unity to the rest of the world.

Furthermore, there is another indication that the Koranic account is intermediate in degree of refinement between those of Umayya and the Bible. The phrase "and We ransomed him with a noble victim" betrays that Isaac was a votive offering. At the same time, however, the expression "as thou art commanded," used by Isaac, contradicts the supposition. The exegetes, alive to the difficulty, effect a compromise.[13] Abraham vowed that if Allah granted him male issue he would offer it in sacrifice; when the child grew up, Allah reminded him of his promise. The pagan tradition was invoked by the theologians, for the verse had to be saved at all costs. The interpretation may not be very palatable to Moslems, but neither can they be horror-stricken by it. It seems that the practice of human sacrifice was not abandoned till the very end of the Jahiliyya. There are several references to it in the Koran.[14] In Sura 6, 137 we read: "In like manner have their companions induced many of the idolaters to slay their children, that they might bring them to perdition, and that they might render their religion obscure and confused unto them." We are told[15] that a certain woman vowed to sacrifice her son in the precincts of the Ka'ba. Regretting her rash utterance, she repaired to Medina to seek a legal remedy. There 'Abd Allah ibn 'Umar simply told her that Allah requires the fulfillment of a vow but prohibits murder, and could find no solution for her dilemma. Ibn 'Abbas counselled her to redeem her son with a hundred camels, the price of a man's blood in the Sunna. However, Marwan, the governor of Medina, to whom the woman finally applied, absolved her from any responsibility on the ground that an impious vow is void. Al-Jaṣṣaṣ[16] cites

13 *Ibid.*, p. 377.
14 Cf. also Sura 6, 140.
15 Tabari, *Annales*, I, 3, 1073ff.
16 *Aḥkam al-Qur'an*, p. 377.

three more such cases in all of which the jurists prescribe animal substitution. Even in the eighth century the matter was of interest to the codifiers. Abu Ḥanifa and Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥasan ruled that the consecrated individual must be redeemed by a goat, inasmuch as Sura 37, 107, which was not abrogated by a subsequent revelation, implies that Abraham's faith required such a vow to be consummated by substitution. An injunction of Abraham's religion which, the Koran says, was neither Jewish nor Christian but Moslem (Sura 3, 66), must be regarded as binding upon Moslems at all times.[17]

The nature and setting of the Koranic story are clearly defined by the above considerations. It could not have been based upon Biblical or Rabbinic literature. But though its coarse features are not found there, it does not follow that they were invented by Mohammed. It would take a 19th century sociologist to clothe a story so fittingly in its earlier cultural garb. Umayya, too, could never have recreated its primitive conditions so unerringly. Both men undoubtedly derived their versions from a source which we have yet to find.

Besides the theory just discussed, there is another way of determining the relative significance of the stories of the sacrifice as they appear in the Bible, the Umayya poem, and the Koran. We have suggested hitherto that these accounts must be construed as variants of an unrecorded original, to which the pre-Islamic version bears the closest resemblance. Greek literature, however, affords us parallels in the light of which the Biblical and Koranic accounts can be shown to bear a somewhat different relation to each other and to that of Umayya. From Pausanias, whose "Description of Greece" is unusually rich in examples of religious customs and ceremonies, we learn the oracles often commanded that human beings be sacrificed in order to check a plague or a famine.[18] The victims were either chosen by lot or

17 *Ibid.*, p. 377.
18 Pausanias, *Description of Greece*, I, tr. Frazer, (London, 1898), p. 7, p. 159, p. 193, p. 454, etc.

voluntarily offered by pious sires. In one case, similar to that in *Judges* 11, 30–31, the Pythian priestess commands a ruler, eager to find water, to slay the first person he should meet on his return to the city.[19] The oracular command appears thus to have been an early feature of the institution of human sacrifice and not a later innovation aimed at strengthening its hold upon the imagination of the worshippers. Indeed the latter did not seem to become less willing to vow their offspring, as time went on. When the Delphic oracle ordered that a maiden be slaughtered to save the Messenians from a pestilence, the patriotic Aristodemus, though not prompted by any omen, offered his own daughter.[20] Both *modi operandi* existed side by side, the sacrificer's vow being often a sort of corollary of the divine behest. Consequently God's command to sacrifice Isaac was not an act of a *deus ex machina* invented by the author to relieve Abraham of a horrible stigma and incidentally save the story itself, but a genuine tradition purged and idealized by the *trial* motivation. On the other hand, Umayya's poem is based upon a source in which the sacrifice was of the votive type. Evidently this tradition was not distasteful to him. However, Mohammed, whose religious ideas were more advanced and who himself forbade human sacrifice, adopted the type of story in which the deity enjoins the offering, and made it even more edifying by adding the test interpretation. Approaching as he did the loftiness of the Biblical view, he fell short of it by employing the unfortunate expression discussed above and by retaining the oracle-aetiology instead of the direct command with which the divination motif is so skillfully masked by the Biblical artist. To be sure, the Biblical artist may have been so deeply moved by the purely human tragedy he was endeavoring to unfold, that he lost all interest in the realistic details of the religious custom, and failed to mention them.

Indeed when examining analogues to the Isaac sacri-

19 *Ibid.*, p. 485.
20 *Ibid.*, p. 193.

fice in ancient literature, one finds that as a rule their atmosphere is ritualistic and that they are cited merely as curiosities or examples of obsolete practice, sometimes with reverence and sometimes with scorn. With one or two possible exceptions (cf. Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis*), no attempt is made to exploit their tragic *motif*. Plutarch informs us that before the battle of Leuctra, Pelopidas dreamed that Scedasus bade him sacrifice a maiden if he wished to win the approaching battle. Frightened by the vision, he consulted the soothsayers and generals. Some of them advised him to disregard it, but others urged him to heed it. While he was at a loss as to which course to follow, a she-colt suddenly broke loose from the herd and galloped past the camp. The laymen could not read the sign, but Theocritus the augur saw the thing in his heart and cried out to Pelopidas: "O good friend! look, the sacrifice is come; expect no other virgin, but use that which the gods have sent thee."[21] The colt was sacrificed and Pelopidas of course emerged victorious. The story merely illustrates the efficacy of the rite and the subtleties of augury, and is thus a marked contrast to the Biblical parallel which emphasizes the humanizing qualities and shapes the theme as a whole into an event stimulating national pride. Not so the Koranic version which also makes the dream the oracular medium and which is, generally, more akin to the Plutarch story than to the Biblical account. Incidentally, this explanation proves that the dream which Abraham dreamed was not a figment of Mohammed's imagination but in all probability a well-authenticated tradition. Umayya's version, as we have said, represents another tradition. Thus the Hebrew and Arabic stories seem to be independent or semi-independent accounts rather than variants. Whichever view we accept, we must admit that neither Umayya nor Mohammed borrowed their versions from the Bible or Rabbinic sources.

Another Koranic story which seems to be a forerunner

21 Plutarch, *Lives*, Pelopidas, XXI.

of its Biblical counterpart is found in Sura 2, 66–72. "And when Moses said unto his people: 'Verily Allah commandeth you to sacrifice a cow.' They answered: 'Dost thou make a jest of us?' Moses said: 'Allah forbid that I should be (one) of the foolish.' They said: 'Pray for us unto thy Lord, that he would show us what (cow) it is.' Moses answered: 'He saith, she is neither an old cow, nor a young heifer, but of a middle age between both; do ye therefore that which ye are commanded.' They said: 'Pray for us unto thy Lord, that he would show us what color she is of.' Moses answered: 'He saith, she is a red cow, intensely red, her color rejoiceth the beholders.' They said: 'Pray for us unto thy Lord, that he would (further) show us what (cow) it is, for (several) cows with us are like one another and we, if Allah please, will be directed.' Moses answered: 'He saith, she is a cow not broken to plough the earth, or water the field, a sound one, there is no blemish in her.' They said: 'Now hast thou brought the truth.' Then they sacrificed her; yet they wanted but little of leaving it undone. And when ye slew a man, and contended among yourselves concerning him, Allah brought forth (to light) that which ye concealed. For We said: 'Strike (the dead body) with part of (the sacrified cow);' so Allah raiseth the dead to life, and showeth you his signs, that peradventure ye may understand." The commentators in elucidating the passage state that the dead body, being struck with a part of the heifer, revived and named the person who killed him, after which it immediately dropped dead again. In the Koran the uncanny power vested in the animal is transmitted by touch to the murdered person and there, as it seems, becomes articulate through the skill of a ventriloquizing priest. In the Biblical passage of the עגלה ערופה the element of magic has completely disappeared; instead of a necromantic performance, we find a ceremony imbued with deep moral significance. No lots are cast, nor is any other theurgic means employed

to discover the culprit; the community expiates the sin in penance and prayer.

Jewish literature offers additional proof that the accounts are related. *Pseudo-Jonathan,*[22] *Midrash Leqaḥ Tob* and the *Midrash Aggada*[22] state that a swarm of worms is said to have proceeded from the body of the heifer and to have gone directly to wherever the murderer might be found. A thirteenth century commentary to the Pentateuch which originated in the schools of the Tosaphists[23] says that the heifer itself proceeded to the house of the murderer. These bits of Rabbinic folklore, reminiscent of pre-Biblical customs, could not have given rise to the Koranic variant. The latter, though on the same level of civilization, is in its concrete form so different from the Midrashic prototypes of the עגלה ערופה that it must be regarded as an independent ramification of a pre-historic tradition.

Since the accounts we have discussed can no longer be said to have percolated into the Koran and Jahiliyya tradition through the conventionally assigned channels, by what other channels, if any, could they have been transmitted? Owing to the virtual agreement between the Umayya version and the Babylonian as to the duration of the deluge, one is tempted to regard the former as dependent upon the latter. However, if we dissociate the Umayya account from Israelite tradition, we shall be disregarding the all-important fact that we know of no two independent national versions of an old Oriental saga wherein the names of the heroes are alike. Since the name of the hero of the Umayya version is that of the Biblical Nuḥ (arabicized Noah), it should be linked with Hebrew tradition. The six day and seven night duration of the deluge-tempest, as given by Umayya, is therefore merely a new and hitherto unknown variant of a detail in the Hebrew version. That this variant agrees with an incident of the Babylonian account is interesting,

22 [G]; cf. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews,* VI, p. 19, n. 110.
23 *Semitic Studies in memory of Alexander Kohut,* p. 493, [G].

but not surprising; there are other details in the Biblical story which tally with those of the Babylonian.

However, may we not argue that Umayya's tradition was really non-Hebrew to start with, but that at some later date, owing to the growing prestige of the Jews in the peninsula, it changed the name of its hero to correspond with that in the Bible? This argument, though quite permissible, is not at all probable. Mohammed, who was undoubtedly in closer contact with Jews than Umayya and who had more reason than his contemporary to ingratiate himself with them, speaks of Azar as being the father of Abraham. (Sura 6, 75.) Idris, whom Moslem tradition identifies with Enoch, is another example of Mohammed's obtuseness with respect to Biblical names. There can be no doubt that the identification is correct. Enoch is the seventh antediluvian patriarch in Genesis 5, and Ευδωρεσχος is the seventh antediluvian king according to Berossus.[24] One can easily see how Ευδωρεσχος, by contracting into the If'il form, became in Arabic *Idris*. Since Ευδωρεσχος is the Greek equivalent of Emenduranki, an antediluvian king of the cuneiform records,[25] it follows that Mohammed's information regarding this personage is ultimately based upon Babylonian sources. Another indication that Emenduranki, Idris and Enoch are all analogues is that each plays an identical rôle in his respective literature. To Emenduranki the gods handed down the heavenly tablets;[26] the *Book of Jubilees* (4, 23) says of Enoch that he was the heavenly scribe; and Mohammedan tradition speaks of him as the first among men to use the pen.[27]

Moreover, any attempt to adapt the Koran to the Scriptures would not have limited itself to correspondence in names, but would also have served to rid the stories of that heathen grossness which could not be anything but shocking to Biblical-minded Jews. Umayya, as we have seen, made no such concessions; nor did Mo-

24 Cory, *Ancient Fragments*, (London, 1828), p. 20.
25 Jeremias, *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients*, (Leipzig, 1904), p. 221.
26 *Ibid.*, p. 4.
27 *'Ara'is al-Majalis*. (Cairo, 1324), p. 28.

hammed show any great inclination to harmonize his accounts with those of the Bible, if, indeed, we may assume that he had a clear notion of what the book of the "people of the book" was. We are therefore compelled to assume that the narratives of Umayya and Mohammed which we have examined, spread in Arabia through contact with the Jews, and that the tradition behind them was old-Israelitish. Furthermore, Rabbinic literature, which contains not only many original tales, but also a good deal of folklore as old as the Bible itself or even older, could not possibly have influenced the Arab versions we have analyzed. Rabbinic literature records only the innocuous portions of the ancient tradition. Thus, quite as in the Umayya poem, the Midrashic Isaac asks his father to bind him fast that he shrink not from the knife.[28] It would be preposterous to maintain that the Arab versifier plucked only this sentence from the Rabbis and supplied all the offensive parts of the narrative from other sources or his own imagination.

If these arguments are not convincing in themselves, the following consideration may settle the question. Mohammed in one of his catalogues of the prophets refers to Abraham as "one who fulfilled" (Sura 53, 38). The meaning of this phrase, however variously it may be interpreted by the exegetes, becomes clear beyond a doubt when it is compared with another phrase in one of Umayya's fragments on Abraham, to wit, "And Abraham who fulfilled his vow."[29] The fuller epithet used by Umayya, *al-muwaffi bi-nadhrin,* is the best commentary on the Koranic expression, *al-ladhi waffa.* Mohammed left out the object of the verb *waffa* either because of his penchant for allusive and jerky descriptions or else because for obvious reasons he preferred to be abrupt on the subject. We must therefore repeat that Mohammed's version of the sacrifice can in no wise depend upon a Rabbinic source.

Yet all his sources for this story were Hebrew, though

28 *Ber. Rabba,* 56, 11.
29 Umayya, ed. Schulthess, p. 33.

other than the Bible, Apocrypha, or Rabbinic literature. There is no direct evidence of Jewish immigration to the peninsula in the neighborhood, say, of 600 B.C.E. or upwards, at the time when anti-prophetic doctrines probably still prevailed among the Palestinian populace, but there is nothing in the history of the two nations to preclude such a possibility. If Jewish communities could flourish in Egypt as far back as the sixth century B.C.E., why should they not have existed in Arabia as early as that? Moreover, archaic beliefs among these Jews do not necessarily indicate an early influx. Even if they emigrated after the destruction of the second temple, the 'Am ha-Areṣ class were very likely to have preserved some unscriptural traditions that would be abhorrent to enlightened coreligionists. These traditions, unlike the old Israelitish stories in Rabbinic literature, had not been removed from their original settings and made to harmonize with their Biblical analogues. With their pagan edges unpolished, these tales floated through Arabia for centuries and were finally crystallized in the Koran.

But what is true of these particular stories may not be true of all. In many of them the Biblical and Rabbinic influence was probably paramount. Each account must be judged on its own merits. Geiger's thesis is re-affirmed by the present inquiry. What is disputed here is the assumption he and his successors after him make, viz., that the Judaism that filtered into Arabia, no matter how ignorant its professors, was such as would not run counter to the spirit of the Talmud or at least of the Bible. Incidentally, this inquiry makes it evident that one can sometimes find in the Koran the portions of folk-tales which were excised by the Rabbinic censor from the Hebrew text, and old Israelitish narratives or customs which became permeated in the Bible with profound moral meaning.

Brooklyn, N. Y. JOSHUA FINKEL.

THE ALI ILAHI SECT IN PERSIA

Persia is a hot bed of heresy. It is the principal home of Shiah Islam, which is the great heresy from Orthodox Mohammedanism. But Shiah Islam is itself permeated with heretical sects. Among these we find Bahaism and Babism, different shades of Sufiism, and all kinds of dervish orders.

But the one so widely divergent from Islam as to be more justly classed as a distinct religion than a heresy, is the 'Ali Ilahi sect. As the name indicates, the adherents of this sect are ostensibly the followers of 'Ali. Especially in their intercourse with outsiders, they call frequently on 'Ali. They speak of him as divine. They say he is not God, and yet is not separate from God. In this, however, they do not go much beyond the faith of Shiah Mosḷems. Only when one gets a little into the inner life and thought and practices of this cult, does he find that 'Ali does not occupy as important a place in the minds of his supposed followers as is generally believed. Sometimes one wonders if the appellation of 'Ali Ilahi is not really a misnomer. The 'Ali Ilahis speak of themselves as The People of the Truth (*Ahl-i-Haqq*) or as The Tribe (*Taife*).

The two persons who seem to be specially revered and invoked are David, known as the rider of a dark gray horse, and Benjamin. Some say that David was a servant of 'Ali, and yet, a great many are ready to identify him with King David of the Bible, and they buy and read the Psalms with avidity. One section of the 'Ali Ilahis is more attached to David than the others, and invokes his aid on all occasions. A little child trying to lift something too heavy for his small strength, calls on David for

help, and a person in pain groans out *"Ya Daood"* as naturally as a Christian says "Oh God."

Benjamin, the other individual revered by the 'Ali Ilahis, seems to be more mysterious than David. In a sense, he is like Melchizedek, without beginning or ending of days. People do not seem to know anything definite about him, and ordinarily, they hesitate to speak his name. I often wondered about this Benjamin. Then one day, while in the home of one of the principal leaders of the 'Ali Ilahi sect in Western Persia, a man loved and revered by his followers as a great prophet, my host told me that Benjamin, whom his people all worship, is only another name for Christ. He said that the 'Ali Ilahis in Persia were originally Christians. At the time of the Mohammedan conquest they were forced to change their religion. The name, Benjamin, meaning the Son of the Right Hand, was substituted for Christ, and in using the name Benjamin, the people mean to imply the Son of God.

That the 'Ali Ilahis are of Jewish or Christian origin is easy to believe. Some of their practices give evidence of this. They have a fast lasting three days, followed by a feast, alleged to commemorate the time when the Lord Jesus lay in the tomb and His Resurrection. They have a ceremony much resembling the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, at which bread and raisins are distributed. They accept readily the doctrine of the Deity of Christ, and when we speak of Him as the Son of God, will often remark, "We say He is God Himself."

And yet, they have beliefs widely different from all accepted Christian doctrines. They hold persistently to a belief in the transmigration of souls, but do not seem to be very clear as to just what sort of beings these returning spirits will occupy. One of their leading teachers tried to prove to me once that the Bible teaches transmigration of souls.

One of the branches of the 'Ali Ilahi cult, known as the Tausi, or Peacock sect, goes still farther afield, and

venerates the devil. While these people do not actually worship Satan, they fear and placate him, and nobody in their presence ventures to say anything disrespectful of his Satanic majesty. In connection with the name of this peculiar sect, it is supposed that the peacock (*Taus*) was the guardian of the gate of Paradise (or Eden), and passed the devil through to get acquainted with Adam and Eve.

There are three principal divisions of the 'Ali Ilahi sect, viz., the Davudi, the Tausi and the Nosairi.

Many of the 'Ali Ilahis have marked Jewish features. Toward the close of the Great War, I was doing relief work and building roads near Kerind, which is a noted centre of the 'Ali Ilahi sect. British officers coming up from Mesopotamia frequently asked me if 'Ali Ilahis they met in my tent were Jews. Perhaps we may find some from the long lost ten tribes among these 'Ali Ilahis. It is certainly more reasonable to believe that the deported Jews were scattered among the Persian hills than sent to some of the quarters of the globe where enthusiastic searchers think they have found them.

The 'Ali Ilahis have no printed books or literature in general circulation. Their sacred book is known as the *Sar Anjam,* and is written in poetry in the Guran dialect of Kurdish. It exists only in manuscript. The book is never given to outsiders. On one occasion, however, as a mark of special courtesy, I was allowed to examine it in the presence of a group of 'Ali Ilahi religious leaders.

The religious leaders of the 'Ali Ilahis are known as *seyyids.* The name is usually applied to descendants of Mohammed, but with the 'Ali Ilahi people the title seems simply to indicate a religious chief. The position is hereditary, and often confers considerable power. The principal *seyyid* of the Guran district in Western Persia is practically worshipped by his followers. People coming to pay him homage, kneel down and kiss the ground when they reach his gate. Referring to this religious leader, one of the tribal chiefs of the region once said to

me, "May God forgive me for saying so, but Seyyid Rustam is my God." Hospitality is a virtue cultivated by some of these 'Ali Ilahi *seyyids* to the extreme, and all who pass their doors are sure of welcome, food and bed, be they tramps or princes. One *seyyid* has even been known to receive with hospitality and treat kindly the murderer of his father. This lavish hospitality is made possible by the gifts of the *seyyid's* followers. Despite the homage rendered them, some of these *seyyids* are the politest and humblest of men.

The 'Ali Ilahis in Persia are noted for their fire festivals. In a gathering where it is proposed to play with fire, some of them will work themselves into an ecstasy by means of music. Braziers of burning coals will then be brought in, and the performers will dance on the fire with bare feet. They will take up whole handfuls of live coals and clap them into their mouths or on various parts of their persons. At one such assembly, which I attended, an old man sat in a corner and, to the accompaniment of a zither, sang a ditty over and over again. As he sang, he rolled his head from side to side. Finally, he seemed to reach a state of frenzy, and suddenly called for fire. A woman brought in a brazier full of glowing coals. The old man seized these by the handful and double handful. He crammed them into his mouth where they hissed as they were extinguished. He ejected from his mouth only dead charcoal. He rubbed the live coals on his shoulders, his breast and various parts of his body. On touching his flesh, the fire was extinguished. In the party, of four American missionaries and an Englishman, who watched this performance, there were two doctors. When the excitement was over and the fire ceremony finished, the doctors examined carefully the old man who had been the principal participant, but could not find the slightest sign of a burn upon him. The explanation given by the actors in these demonstrations with fire, and apparently firmly believed by them, is that they are filled with divine power, so the fire cannot hurt them.

It is clear that only a favored few can thus handle fire with impunity, and they cannot do it at all times. They must first get into a certain condition, which they describe as being divinely possessed. Considering this belief that certain persons at certain times are possessed by a divine being, it is easy to understand how they can hold to the doctrine of a number of incarnations. They believe that during the history of the world, a great many people have been, throughout their lives, divinely possessed, or, in other words, have been incarnations of God. They do not always seem to be consistent as to just who these incarnations were, but include all the great men of whom they have ever heard, Confucius, Buddha, Mohammed, different Jewish prophets and the Lord Jesus. One list cited even included Henry Martyn, the first missionary to Persia!

The 'Ali Ilahis are far from being a unit. Not only do the three branches referred to above exist, but from time to time strange heresies arise. One such started about twenty years ago in the village of Sahnah. A man named Ni'amat Allah claimed to be a special apostle, and proclaimed the speedy advent of the Lord. Just who would appear, whether the Mahdi, the Twelfth Imam of the Shiah Moslems, the Christ of the Christians, or someone else, is not clear. But people from all around flocked to his black standard. At his command, they ceased to use tea, tobacco and opium, and the men let their hair grow. He announced the time of the advent, and people sold their little patches of land and their homes and sacrificed their sheep and cattle. Ni'amat Allah constantly urged the people to repent of their sins, and imposed penances for their evil deeds. Among other things he made them crawl on their hands and knees and bark like dogs. They had to gather up and eat handfuls of stable manure. When the time for the advent came, a great crowd waited outside Ni'amat Allah's house. The hour passed. Then after a while, the apostle sent out a message from a secret chamber saying that the

advent had been postponed, owing to the sins of the people, that he was fasting and praying in secret for them, and commanded more sacrifices and penances, and said that the advent would take place on a certain day some months later. When the advent failed the second time, Ni'amat Allah shut himself up for several months, and would see no one except a few of his immediate, privileged followers. He said he was fasting and praying and undergoing penance for the sins of his people. It was during this time that he wrote me a letter saying he was waiting for the Holy Spirit to come upon him. He sent me a bit of earth, which he said had clung to the feet of Jesus, and which he claimed would heal illness by contact. I never tested the efficacy of this earth. This man is now dead, and his son heads the sect which his father called into being.

From a missionary point of view, the 'Ali Ilahis are among the most hopeful of any of the peoples of Persia. Most of the converts whom I have been instrumental in winning to Christ during the past twenty years, have been from this sect. Some of the staunchest and most earnest of all the converts I have come in contact with in Persia have been from the 'Ali Ilahis. They are open to the Gospel in a way that the Moslems are not. When listening to the preaching of the Word, they frequently say, "Why do you come to us with this message? We are already near you in belief. You should go to the Moslems who are far removed in faith." No adequate organized effort has ever been made to reach the 'Ali Ilahi tribes and villages of Persia. But is it not reasonable to believe that a thorough, systematic and adequate effort would yield large results?

Kermanshah, Persia. F. M. Stead.

CURRENT TOPICS

New Marriage Laws in Persia

The following articles were passed by the Persian Parliament and constitute the new law to be put into execution immediately. We give the essential points:

1. Marriages should be reported to the local judicial courts before they take place.

2. Marriage should not take place between those who are not physically fit to marry.

3. If anybody violates the above law he will be imprisoned for a period of from one year to three years.

4. If anybody deceives the one whom he or she wishes to marry and without the deceit marriage would not have taken place, he or she will be imprisoned from a period of six months to two years.

5. Men who wish to marry should inform the person in charge of marriage ceremonies and those whom they want to marry at the time of marriage about their previous wives—in case they have any. If anybody deceitfully asserts that he has no other wife he will be condemned to the above mentioned punishment.

6. Men should support the expenses of their wives, giving them food, clothing and shelter. In case they refuse to do so, their wives may appeal to the courts.

7. A lady can use her own property as she pleases without the permission of her husband.

8. A Moslem woman is forbidden to marry a non-Moslem man.

9. The marriage of a Persian woman to a foreigner—even though there be no lawful objection—should take place with the permission of the government.

10. If a foreigner marries a Persian lady without the above mentioned permission, he will be imprisoned from one to three years.

Drink and Drugs in Egypt

In the report of the American Presbyterian Mission we find the following account regarding efforts to abate the drink and drug evil in Egypt:

During the past ten years narcotic addiction has become one of the major problems of the country. To the hashish and opium which have long been in use here have been added the so-called "white drugs," cocaine, and the more high-powered heroin. Russell Pasha, the English head of the Cairo police, says that no nation has ever gone down before a vice as Egypt has gone down before drugs. He estimates the number of addicts in the country as about five hundred thousand, which means

one addict for every twenty-eight of the population. Since the large majority of addicts are men, the proportion of male addicts might be as high as one in eighteen. There is addiction in every class of society.

The Egyptian government has been putting forth strong efforts to combat this evil. The law at present forbids possession of these drugs as well as trafficking in them, with maximum punishment of five years' imprisonment and a fine of L. E. 1000. Repeatedly Russell Pasha has presented to the League of Nations Egypt's plea for restrictions in European countries of drugs exported from them. Much has been accomplished in this way, and in cooperation with police in other lands the indictment of more than one notorious gang of international traffickers has been secured. An education campaign has been carried on by means of lantern slides, films and a very widely distributed poster, so that ignorance as to the consequences can no longer be the excuse for addiction. Public opinion is forming to condemn the habit.

Moslems in China

On September 26 a special meeting was held in the Conference Room of the Committee of Reference and Counsel in New York City to meet with Rev. J. Findlay Andrew, a missionary of the China Inland Mission, who has more than twenty years' experience in the Province of Kansu and who is especially acquainted with the problems of missions to Chinese Moslems. Mr. Andrew's address referred mostly to the Moslems in Kansu Province, who number about three millions. Although in other parts of China the Moslems are mixed with the Chinese people, in Kansu Province they are not identical with them and trace their origin to three races, Arab and Persian, Turkish, and a branch of the old Hun family. Since the beginning of the Manchu dynasty, they have been a constant source of irritation and trouble to the Chinese people, and increasing enmity has been the result. At the present time Moslem power is in the ascendancy in Northwest China. Very few Christian missionaries are at work among these Moslem people. Throughout China the Christian approach to Moslems is a neglected task. To a very large extent it must be a bilingual problem, for the successful missionary should be equipped with a knowledge of Arabic, as well as of the vernacular. It is clear that the task calls for a large measure of cooperation between the various missionary agencies, and the meeting agreed to address a communication to the National Christian Council in China suggesting that that Council should reorganize a special committee on work for Moslems through whom all the missionary boards working in China might cooperate to deal more effectively with the needs of Chinese Moslems. Specially prepared literature is needed, special facilities for the training of missionaries are called for, and united prayer and effort need to be encouraged.

The Soviet and the Moslems in Turkestan

In the *Statesman,* Calcutta, India, there is an interesting account of religious persecutions carried on against the Moñammedans of Turkestan. We read:

"Keen interest is being aroused among North India Muslims by an influx into the Punjab and Delhi of a number of Mussalmans from

Eastern (Russian) Turkestan, who have left their homes and country because of religious and economic disabilities enforced upon them, in common with other communities, by the Soviet regime. About thirty of these Turkestan Muslims are in Delhi.

"I have had an opportunity of meeting a number of these exiles and was given a vivid picture of the hard life led by the Moslem subjects of Moscow. All the men now in Delhi were agriculturists, small landowners or traders from near Bokhara. They said that Moscow's anti-religious campaign was begun in Turkestan some five years ago, and has been growing in severity until, in their own words, it became impossible for a man to remain in his own country and be a good Muslim.

"Religious restrictions began with the banning of all religious teaching in schools and all missionary efforts and, as Moscow's influence grew, spread until Qurans and other religious books were seized. In order to prevent attendance at mosques, the authorities imposed high taxes on all worshippers, while preachers and leaders who rebelled against these measures were imprisoned, shot or sent to Moscow and never heard of again.

"Religious schools were closed and Muslim children compelled to attend schools where atheism was preached, and they were taught to despise the faith of their parents. This appears to have been a particularly bitter blow to the Mussalmans, and was deeply resented. Islamic marriages were declared illegal, and all Muslims wishing to be married had to go through a secular ceremony at which a non-Muslim Soviet official officiated.

"Passports were refused to those who wished to go on pilgrimages, and fasting for religious reasons was made a punishable offence.

"Mussalmans were, of course, not alone in being subjected to this persecution, Christians and Jews were also subjected to every conceivable form of indignity to make them forego their religion."

Tatar Proletarian Writers

In *The Asiatic Review* Jeyhoun Bey Hajibeyli writes on the effect of Bolshevist rule among the Mohammedans of Tataristan. We quote two paragraphs from his most interesting article:

"In the formidable upheaval which Bolshevism brought about in the life of the Russian people it is not without interest to follow the reaction of this change upon the ideas and conceptions of the Muhammadan peoples of the former Russian Empire, who, by their attachment to their traditions and to their religion, ought to constitute the most difficult barrier against all those extremist experiments, introduced, moreover, by foreign elements and in which they themselves took no initiative; at any rate, at the beginning of the Bolshevist movement.

"Once the religious foundation, upon which the ethical life of the average Muhammadan is based, was shaken, the ulterior metamorphosis in the social and conscious existence of the Muhammadan peoples should have inevitably followed its course in a reality such as Bolshevism. In their intensive propaganda the Bolshevist leaders laid great stress on the importance of the theatre and of the national literature of the subjugated peoples as the best means of reaching the masses.

"As a matter of fact, there are in existence at Kazan four groups of Tartar writers and poets. The first is the group of the older writers, the *popoutchikis,* whose ranks are diminishing rapidly (there are not more than eighteen in all today)—more or less suspect in the eyes of the new Soviet society.

"The second is the 'Tartar Association of Proletarian Writers' (TAPP, in abbreviation). This is the most important group formed of young writers and numbering some sixty members, to whom must be added nearly four hundred apprentices recruited among the working-class youth. It is this group which constitutes the 'quintessence' of the new Bolshevist literature, which is subjected to different rules, forms, and methods from those in use in 'bourgeois and capitalist' countries. It is, above all, a group of the urban proletariat, whereas the third embraces the Association of Proletarian Writers belonging to the *kolkhoz* of Tataristan. Finally, the fourth group consists of military writers known as the LOKAF (Literary Union of the Red Army and Fleet).

"At the present moment another association is in process of formation under the title of FOST (Federative Association of Soviet Writers of Tataristan).

"Contemporary Tartar literature is concentrated, for the most part, on periodical publications, such as the bi-monthly review *Ataka,* intended for working-class readers, and the newspaper *Proletarian Literature,* published by the Tartar Association of Proletarian Writers (group 2). The third group has no organ of its own, but contributes to two reviews—the *Kolkhoz* and the *Kolkhoz Youth.*

"Lastly, the LOKAF publishes a page every day in the *Red Soldier* and issues from time to time almanacks devoted to *belles-lettres.*

"The first group has a monthly organ called *Yanalif* (The New Alphabet)."

The Graves in the Haram at Jerusalem

When Mohammed 'Ali, a leader of India's Moslem millions, left his home at the end of 1930, to attend the first Round Table Conference in London, it is said that he did so with the knowledge that he was going to make his last contribution to the settlement of India's problems. But though he travelled westwards in the face of death, did he have any presentiment that his last resting place would be any other where than in the land of his fathers?

Instead he rests within a stone's throw of the site of the Temple of Solomon, where now stands the Dome of the Rock, the rock that was there when David bought the threshing-floor of Araunah the Jebusite. It is no new thing for pious Moslems to be buried near the Golden Gate outside the precincts of the Temple Area, but it must surely be centuries since anyone was laid inside the great quadrangle. But here lies the body of a great man, not far from the Wailing Wall and the spot where Mohammed according to tradition tethered Buraq, his mythical steed which bore him from the temple at Mecca to the temple that is more remote. It is interesting that Jerusalem Moslems know this neighborhood as Buraq, so-called from the "lightning mount" of the founder of Islam.

What the Wailing Wall means to the Jews, the "buraq" has been

made to mean to the Moslems. Of course both before and since the regrettable incidents of 1929 the Wailing Wall question has never been an issue in itself; but only the excuse for raising issues of a national character. There are Jews who never go near it for purposes of devotion on Friday evenings, just as there are Moslems who never go near the Haram on Friday mornings, unless something unusual is going to happen. No, but the Wailing Wall has proved a very useful peg on which to hang questions of a more vital and political nature.

In fact, this year 1931 has brought to that section of the Haram closest to the city a significance that is all its own. Is it too early to say that one of the most brilliant diplomatic and political moves was when early this year the Grand Mufti of Jerusalem offered a grave in the Haram Enclosure to the widow and brother of Mohammed 'Ali. The Haram has ever been a place of pilgrimage for pilgrim Moslems. Will not India's pilgrim Moslems in the years to come have an added reason for coming to their Beit al Maqdis? And pilgrims go back again. It does not matter so much that the Mufti has increased his own prestige by this move, though doubtless he has in many directions; for what matters is that the burial of Mohammed 'Ali just there means that all future problems, not simply Wailing Wall ones, but bigger Zionist questions, will have to be considered not only in the light of the devotion of the Moslem Near East to the Haram al Sharif, but with that little bit of India's Moslem heart right here in the Holy Land. For here is a grave that unites two peoples; on one side the quantity is negligible, on the other it runs into seventy millions, but what the first element lacks in quantity it makes up in quality. It isn't every day that one is buried in the Temple area in Jerusalem.

But there have been two graves built in the Haram this year. Mohammed 'Ali does not lie there alone. In the summer the late king of the Hejaz passed away, and not far from the room which contains the remains of the Indian Moslem, his body was laid. He had come from his exile in Cyprus to be with his son, Abdallah, Amir of Transjordania, and when he died in 'Amman the same offer was made to his son as previously in the year had been made to the relatives of Mohammed 'Ali. So Arabia herself has another little bit of Palestine in the grave of a man, himself a descendant, forty generations away, of Mohammed, an erstwhile king and father of two rulers in the world of Islam, for besides 'Abdallah he was the father of Feisal, king of Iraq, while yet a third son succeeded him in Mecca, till the Hejaz came under the suzerainty of Ibn Sa'ud, the ruler of Najd.

If Judaism has her links in all the world and pious Jews from the present wide dispersion send gifts of money to be turned into prayers on their behalf on one side of the Wailing Wall, not so far off on the other side the visitor will find a couple of graves, which will be as magnets drawing pilgrims once again to the "temple that is more remote."

ERIC F. F. BISHOP.

Capital Letters for Arabic Script

Recent efforts have been made in Egypt under the leadership and at the instance of His Majesty, King Fouad to introduce capital letters in the Arabic language. Hitherto this language used in the press and

in publications has been greatly handicapped through inability of indicating proper nouns. We give below a reproduction of these capital letters as published in *Al Ahram,* Cairo.

Boyhood in an Egyptian Village

Dr. Taha Hussein, the distinguished Dean of the Egyptian Faculty of Letters, has published a book of reminiscences called *El Ayam*. A writer in the *Egyptian Gazette* gives a summary of its earlier chapters as follows:

This is a recital of the writer's recollections of his early years of boyhood, as well as an admirable first-hand picture of the manners and traditions of the uncontaminated Moslem family in the country, in its genuine local colors.

His first memory is of a tall hedge of closely-packed reeds which surrounded the garden of his village house, and, to his infant imagination, bounded all the inhabited part of the earth, extending, on one side, apparently to infinity and on the other to a little canal or brook, which seemed to him impassable. He would sit, on evenings, by its side to listen to the sweet singing of distant voices, and peopled the world beyond it with those hosts of elfs and goblins, of devouring crocodiles, and monstrous fish with the magic ring in their bellies, about which he heard in tale. These would come by night to frighten him in his sleep, causing him to draw his counterpane over head and ears to escape them.

Having been bereft of sight while still in his tender years, he was put to the village "Kouttab," (or elementary school) of Sayedna, (the master) in order to learn the Koran, with a view of qualifying for Al Azhar. In the morning he was led to the Kouttab, where he sat on the ground in the midst of a big halo of shoes, while Sayedna squatted on a low bench in front, with his cloak, folded up in the form of a cushion, beside him, and his thickly-patched shoe beneath the bench. Sayedna was a short, near-sighted, corpulent man, with a shrill voice, but with a high opinion of his vocal capacities. As he was fond of singing, he chose two of his best-voiced pupils for his road companions, would walk in their midst with his arms stretched upon their shoulders, and all three of them sang loudly together along the streets, while the sheikh violently shook his head up and down, and right and left, and tapped with his fingers on his companions' breasts, by way of beating time, and when the song particularly pleased him he stopped with them in the middle of the road till they had finished it.

At last, the day arrived when our lad concluded his learning of the Koran; Sayedna announced the fact to the family, which meant that he would call, for supper, and to receive the customary gift for the occasion, which consisted in a gown, a turban, a pair of red slippers, and a gold sovereign. He arrived on invitation in the above equipage, and after drinking the cups of melted sugar, and doing honor to the sumptuous meal, he assured the boy's father that his son had now become a real sheikh, like every lad who concluded his Koran. The lad's parents were delighted and everybody now conferred upon him the epithet of sheikh, though he was only nine; his father, however, to his great chagrin would not allow him to wear the *kaftan* and turban of the sheikhs. However, only a few days passed after that event, when his father, calling him to recite a *"soura"* (chapter), before a group of friends who supped with him one evening, found that his son's learning had evaporated. Sayedna was summoned the next morning and reproved for his imperfect tuition and the lad was again delivered into his hands

to recommence the task. The revision only took a few weeks, and Sayedna walked in again to give proof of the boy's efficiency and receive a duplicate of the allowance; he swore to the boy's father that he would, that time, shave his beard and be a disgrace amongst sheikhs if the boy forgot his Koran any more. Then, calling the boy to him, he said: "Look, my lad, there I place my beard in your hands, take care that you do not cause any insult to be brought to it."

There was another class of Koran singers, the *"foukaha,"* who read *"souras"* in families, and were known by the appellation of "bearers of God's epistle." Towards Shem-el-Nessim, these *foukaha* procured sheets of white sized paper, cut them into tiny squares, wrote upon each square the enigmatic letters ALRS, folded them, and stuffed them in their pockets; and they went round all the families to which they were accredited, gave every person four of these papers and enjoined him or her to swallow them before beginning a meal, as they had the virtue of protection from the ills of the *khamseen* and particularly ophthalmia. These gifts were rewarded with dyed eggs, cakes, etc.; onions were also split up, on Shem-el-Nessim, and hung on door panels to keep out the evil spirit.

The religion of these simple-minded villagers was tempered with a good deal of magic. The Djin (devil) was often conjured by the cry of *"ya latif"* (O merciful) repeated several hundreds of times, or by reading the *"soura"* of Y. S., ascending to known formula. Thus, when the boy's father was in need of anything, as of putting one of his sons in a free school, he made his son read over that *"soura"* four times. When there was something more momentous, as the paying off of a debt, a reading of seven times was necessary; and on occasions of more vital interest, such as change of work, or the expectation of a pound's increase, the big reading of 41 times was resorted to. On these occasions the lad used to receive a gift adapted to the importance of the reading: thus, in the first instance, his father would give him a lump of sugar, on the second a sum of five milliemes, and on the last ten. But, what was still more curious about it, every time the readings were properly carried out the thing desired was realized.

However, evil days came upon the family. On a certain feast-day, a younger sister of the lad was taken with fever and died; this was followed by the decease of a grandfather and a grandmother. But a much bigger calamity was impending. In 1902 cholera broke out in Egypt; an elder brother of our boy aged 19, a student of the school of medicine was attacked by the disease and died. The pages describing this event are of a heart-melting poignancy. From that day a cloud of sadness fell upon the boy and his mother, and their thoughts and eyes were ever turned upon that bank of the Nile whereon his tomb lay. For a long time after this event, our boy said his prayers double, every day, to pay the debt of his brother, who had been negligent in his duty towards God. Finally, the day arrived when he was to quit his village and come to Cairo to enter Al Ashar. He separated himself painfully from his mother; but it was hoped that he might one day own a pillar in that celebrated seat of religion, and hold an extensive circle of hearers.

A Wireless Station at Mecca?

The Marconi Company recently asked the Egyptian Government for the loan of a Moslem engineer of the State Telegraphs in order to supervise the installation of wireless apparatus in the Hedjaz. The Minister of Communications approved the request and nominated Ibrahim Hamdi el Kurdi Effendi. The nomination, however, will have to be approved by the Financial Commission and the Council of Ministers as the engineer will be absent from Egypt for some months. Kordi Effendi will, before going to the Hedjaz, visit London in order to obtain the necessary instructions from the Marconi Company.

Statistics of the Pilgrimage to Mecca

According to *Al-Muqattam* (Cairo), the department of Pilgrims and Quarantine in the Hejaz reports the number of pilgrims arriving at Mecca last year as follows:

Those that came from Egypt 4,931 as against 17,000 the previous year. The total arriving by sea and by land was only 70,000, distributed as follows: Egypt 4,931; Java 17,017; India 9,620; Syria 929; Palestine 456; Takārnah 1,702; Sudan 929; Yemen 857; Cape Colony 71; Mesopotamia 201; Algeria 184; Afghanistan 173; Turkey 279; Persia 150; Hadramaut 130; Senegal 129; Somali Land 90; China 85; and other countries 437. Before the World War the annual pilgrimage was three times as great as it is now.

Mission Schools in Turkey

The following appeared in the Turkish newspaper *Son Posta* September 29, 1931, and certainly leaves the impression that the attitude of the Turkish Government to mission schools is definitely hostile:

"According to the Lausanne Treaty the right of missionaries to carry on educational work in Turkey ended this year. The government could have abolished all these missionary institutions. But this would have brought a crisis, as there are not sufficient schools for all the children. In order to avoid this crisis it seems that the Ministry of Education has decided to act gradually toward this end.

"The Ministry has adopted two new measures against these foreign schools. Firstly, Turkish children will not be allowed to receive their primary education in these schools. This will be enough to remove the primary classes from these foreign institutions. Secondly, the University will not accept the diplomas of these institutions without examination. This will eventually lessen the number of students in the upper classes of the foreign higher institutions. But the graduates of these institutions seldom apply to the University for admission. They go to Europe or America for advanced study. Therefore this measure will not be sufficient to prevent Turkish students from attending these foreign higher institutions.

"We suggest that two other conditions should also be adopted. The diplomas of these institutions must not be accepted in matters relating to military service or government appointments. This will save Turkish children from these foreign schools.

"At the French Embassy the French Colonial examiners examine

the pupils graduating from the French schools and thus approve the diplomas. This is another form of the capitulations.

"The harm of the missionary schools is evident. These must somehow be restricted. We expect the Government will take steps at least to limit the harm done to our children."

A Turkish College in Smyrna

Our correspondent reports that steps have been taken for the realization of the idea of establishing a Turkish College in Smyrna. Part of the endowment for this project has been secured. However it is estimated that this sum of 30,000 Liras (about $14,000) will not suffice, and a much larger sum is needed to provide all the necessary equipment for the College. If the Ministry of Education supports the project and undertakes the cost of such items as the laboratories, the College will be opened.

Moslem Names in Kansu

Mrs. Olive M. Botham writes in *Friends of Moslems,* the Quarterly News Letter published in China, concerning her investigations of children's names in Northwestern China:

"Most small, and many bigger children, are called at home by their baby names; the mother will say that she forgets the Book name, and sometimes one must find an opportunity to ask the father, uncles, or someone connected with the family who has studied as a Mullah, before finding out, especially if it is a fairly slack family. For instance, Chang 70 was always known by this name because his grandfather was 70 when he was born, and we never discovered his Book name. A little girl 'Butterfly' belonged, however, to a religious family, and we soon discovered her name to be Fatima.

"Men, for some of them are 'men' when still in their teens, seldom tell anything about their surnames (more than half of them 'Ma' in one district of South Kansu), and the women, if you press for another name, will give their maiden names!

"Others are so shortened, or lengthened, for common use, that it is difficult to find out the real name. We knew a little boy, always called 'Iu-bo-ri,' for a year before we found that his real name was Joseph (Iu-si-fu).

"We have been told that the name is given by the Mullah, who opens the Koran and takes a certain word on the page at which he happens to open. In South Kansu this does not seem to be the custom. An Ahung we used to know used often to complain of the trouble of finding names for so many children. One child we were told as a fact was called 'Du-shan-bei' (Monday) because he was born on a Monday.

"The following are a few names I have been able to find out:—*Girls:* Ayesha, 2; Amina, 2; Fatima, 2; Khadijah, 1; Mary, 1; Safia, 1; Salma, 1; ? Fa-sieh, 1. It is interesting to note that these are all connected with Mohammed, his wives, mother, daughter, and slave. *Boys:* Hasan, 4; Joseph, 3; Dushanpei (Monday) 3; Ersa, (Jesus) 2; Ye-ho-ya, (John Baptist's father), 2; Chuma (Friday), 2; David, 1; Noah, 1; Remazan, 1; ? Er-si-ma-li (called Er-ma for short), 1; ? Hu-li-ye, 1; ? K'u-ru-ba, 1.

"I am sure of the Chinese pronunciation of the last three, having

had them reported several times, but cannot find how they would be translated."

The Death of Bishop MacInnes

We regret to record the death of the Bishop of the Church of England in Jerusalem, Dr. Rennie MacInnes, on Christmas Eve, 1931 at Carlisle.

Bishop MacInnes was known and loved by all missionaries in the Near East. A warm-hearted friend, a loyal co-worker among Moslems and a fearless protagonist of Church Union his influence was felt in widening circles. We learn from *The Guardian* (London) that:

"Ordained in 1896, he was, until 1899, curate of St. Matthew's, Bayswater, when he went to Cairo as a C.M.S. missionary. In 1909 he was made an honorary canon of St. George's Collegiate Church, Jerusalem, and in 1914 was chosen to succeed Bishop Blyth as Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem. He was consecrated in Westminster Abbey on October 28. In 1924 he was made Chaplain of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem.

Dr. MacInnes had suffered from asthma for some years, but he was hoping soon to return to his duties. Only a few days before his death he had written of his intention of being in London early in January before leaving for Jerusalem. The funeral took place on Monday at Burgh-by-Sands, near Carlisle. The officiating clergy included the Dean of Carlisle, the Rev. E. M. Bickersteth, General Secretary of the Jerusalem and the East Mission, the Rev. W. Wilson Cash, General Secretary of the C.M.S., and the Rev. E. S. Carr, of Watford, honorary secretary of the Zenana Bible and Medical Mission. A memorial service was held on the same day in St. George's Cathedral, Jerusalem. It was attended by representatives of the Government and the Churches, including Mgr. Thorgon Koushakian, the Armenian Patriarch, Mgr. Keladion, Metropolitan of Ptolemaïs and Topoteretes of the Orthodox Patriarchate, representatives of the Latin Patriarchate, of the Franciscan Custodia of the Terra Santa, of the Russian, Coptic, Abyssinian, and Jacobite Churches, of the Jewish Agency, and the Consular Corps. The Orthodox Topoteretes gave the benediction."

To the Friends of the Moslem World Quarterly

OUR MAGAZINE is in urgent need of more subscribers. We confidently turn to you. If you have found the Quarterly helpful, will you not recommend it to others, place it in some public library or send us a list of those who would like to receive a sample copy? The price is $2.00 (eight shillings) a year; $1.50 (six shillings) in clubs of five or more.

Do It Now

BOOK REVIEWS

The Present-Day Summons to the World Mission of Christianity. By John R. Mott. Cokesbury Press, Nashville, Tenn., 1931. pp. 325. $2.

All associated with missions as workers or directors will injure the missionary cause and indicate their own inadequacy for the service they have undertaken if they neglect this book and reject its recommendations. The volume comprises the six lectures on the Cole Foundation of the School of Religion of Vanderbilt University at Nashville, Tennessee. The six lectures are expanded into seven chapters, with three others added. The work is based on the information brought to the Enlarged Meeting of the International Missionary Conference at Jerusalem, supplemented by later Conferences, interpreted and stressed by Dr. Mott's unmatched personal experience and judgment. The bibliography, index and appendix, consisting of the Statement on The Christian Message adopted at Jerusalem add to the value of the book.

Six world trends are portrayed in the first chapter: nationalism, international relations, economic stress, social status of women, increase of education and the disintegration of the non-Christian religions. The next three chapters describe the world rural, industrial and race problems. Three other chapters discuss the duty to share, serve and cooperate. Then Dr. Mott emphasizes the implications of the absolute uniqueness, sufficiency, supremacy and universality of the Living Message, and finally he shows the necessity for a more adequate home base and a stronger leadership.

Each chapter deals thoroughly, concisely and constructively with its subject. For instance, the chapter on "The Summons of Rural Life" indicates the needs of rural communities by describing their present neglect, their numbers, their disease, ignorance, poverty, sin and superstition. Sixty concrete items are listed to characterize a typical Indian village. The rural field is then shown to be of the utmost importance economically, politically and spiritually. Definite objectives for Christian effort and a constructive program are presented to promote agricultural work as coordinate with medical and educational work, to secure fact-finding surveys, formulate objectives, develop rural community units, establish experimental institutions, provide special training for agricultural missionaries, multiply demonstration centers, add rural specialists to the larger mission Boards and stress the spiritual possibilities of rural work. The bare skeleton of this chapter shows its scope and importance, but its value can be known only by studying the paragraphs which add flesh and blood to each phrase of the summary. The presentation is forceful and purposeful, so that the subject of rural mission work becomes vivid and vital to the reader, because it is real and important to the writer.

Dr. Mott has the ability to discern and focus attention upon the central and superlative features of problems and their solutions, and therefore the busiest workers, those with the longest experience and the heaviest burdens of responsibility can profit most by his presentation of conditions and his conclusions. No number of quotations can take the place of the serious study of the whole book, but the following passage reveals the author's conviction that the situation requires action:

"It is startling to reflect on the imminent possibility that if we turn a deaf ear to the summons of the present, most critical and fateful hour, the world mission of the Christian faith may fail."

The book makes clear the world's desperate need of Christ; it will strengthen Christians in their love and loyalty to Christ, and it will stimulate whole-hearted service for Christ.

Hartford, Conn. EDWIN E. CALVERLEY.

The Legacy of Islam. Edited by the late Sir Thomas Arnold, Litt.D., and Alfred Guillaume, M.A. Oxford University Press, New York. pp. 416. $3.00.

This is doubtless one of the most important of the "Legacy" series, and like its predecessors, it consists of a series of chapters, each written by a recognized authority on a special subject. The debt of Europe to Islam through the Crusades and the Saracen invasion of Spain is far greater than is generally admitted. It is true, as we read in the preface, that "there is little that is *peculiarly* Islamic in the contributions which Occidental and Oriental Muslims have made to European culture. On the contrary, the legacy has proved least valuable where religion has exerted the strongest influence, as in Muslim Law. But Islam is the fundamental fact which made the Legacy possible. It was under the protection and patronage of the Islamic Empire that the arts and sciences which this book describes flourished."

A wealth of scholarship is evident when we real the list of chapters and the names of the writers. Two introductory papers deal with Spain and Portugal and the period of the Crusades. Then follow special chapters on geography and commerce, Islamic art, architecture, literature, Mysticism, philosophy and theology, law and society, science and medicine, music, and finally astronomy and mathematics. Islam acted more profoundly on Western Christianity from its base in Spain and Sicily than from the more distant centers, Mosul, Baghdad and Cairo. The positive contribution which the Arabs made to the sum of human knowledge was by transmission rather than by addition. The foremost exponents of philosophy were often Moslems only in name, or self-confessed heretics who paid for their opinion with their lives or the loss of liberty. It is rather in the arts and sciences than in philosophy or theology that we find the legacy of Islam. Yet even in architecture, where the debt is undoubtedly great, Islam borrowed from Christianity as well. M. van Berchem has suggested that the "mosque-plan is based on that of the early Christian church: the *sahn* being derived from the atrium, the principal *liwan* from the church proper, the *maqsurah* from the chancel-screen, the minaret from the church-tower, and the *mihrab* from the apse."

In literature the legacy received in the Middle Ages is very evident. There were influences of Arabic culture and ideals on both poetry and

prose. Sometimes, as in the case of Dante, the very ideas are based on those of Islamic writers. " 'The Arabian Nights,' essentially a production of the people, may have lacked all the finer elements of literary art, but it possessed in a superlative degree the one quality, hitherto overlooked by men of letters, but indispensable in a popular literature, the spirit of adventure. It is not over-rash to suggest that it supplied the clue for which the popular writers were searching, and that but for the 'Nights' there would have been no 'Robinson Crusoe', and perhaps no 'Gulliver's Travels.' " It would be invidious to compare the different chapters, but our readers will turn with special interest to the account of Mysticism by Professor R. A. Nicholson and to that on Philosophy and Theology by Professor Alfred Guillaume. The book is profusely illustrated and cannot be too highly recommended. Z.

Storia dei Musulmani di Sicilia. By Michele Amari. Seconda edizione interamente riveduta da l'autore. Vol. I, Puntata 1, pp. 240. Libreria Tirelli di F. Guaitolini. Catania (Sicily), 1930. Lire 150.

Since its publication (completed in 1872) this masterly work of the great Sicilian patriot and oriental scholar has been the standard history of Moslem rule in Sicily. During the years preceding his death in 1889 Amari prepared this revised edition which has remained unpublished until the present time. It is now issued under the editorship of G. Levi della Vida and C. A. Nallino, able modern scholars, who have supplemented the bibliographical material and added notes which revise the author's conclusions in the light of more recent research, thus doing for Amari the service which J. B. Bury performed so brilliantly for Gibbon in editing the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire.* This first fascicule contains the introduction, an extensive critical bibliography of oriental sources, and the first five chapters, which survey the history of Sicily from remote antiquity to the eve of the Moslem conquest, sketch the rise of Islam, and trace its advance along the northern coast of Africa.

Princeton University. W. L. Wright, Jr.

Historia Studii Linguae Arabicae et Collegii Missionum S. Petri in Urbe. By P. Arduino Kleinhans. Biblioteca Bio-bibliografica della Terra Santa e dell' Oriente Francescano, Vol. XIII. Quaracchi presso Firenze, Collegio di S. Bonaventura, 1930. pp. xx + 508. Lire 60.

The study of Arabic for missionary purposes is traced to Raymundus de Pennafort (1250) and Raymundus Lullus (1232–1315). The main interest in this book for our purposes, however, is the history of the study of Arabic in the Monastery of St. Peter on Mons Aureus, Rome, where the first lector of Arabic was P. Thomas Obicini de Novaria, who had spent ten years in the Orient and returned to Rome in 1621. His biography is followed by a bibliography. The lives and the bibliographies of the nineteen successors to this position are given in due order, the last of whom died in 1857. In chapter two, brief biographies of the nine lectors of Albanian are given, the last of whom died in 1862. This volume is a very important reference book for the history of Arabic studies in Europe. A brief book review cannot do justice to so thorough a piece of work. Henry S. Gehman.

Beyond the Sublime Porte: The Grande Seraglio of Stambul. By Barnette Miller, F.R.G.S. Yale University Press, New Haven, Conn., 1931. pp. 281. $5.00.

We agree with Halidé Edib that this "is a comprehensive scholarly work, illuminating important aspects of a remarkable political institution which has passed away." The volume is a historical sketch of the palaces, the institutions and the activities of the Grand Seraglio and not in any sense an archæological or architectural treatise, although it contains a wealth of illustration and excellent ground-plans and diagrams. The author is associate professor of History in Wellesley College, knows Turkish and Arabic and has had exceptional facilities for first-hand information by observation and in consulting the archives.

In Part One she describes the Forbidden City, its Palace, the Pavilion of the Holy Mantle of the Prophet, the Royal Harem, the Palace restorations of 1574 and 1665 and the subsequent abandonment of the Palace.

The second part (pp. 138–227) deals with the Outer Palace, the First Court, the Court of the Divan, the Services of the Inner Palace, and the so-called House of Felicity. There are copious notes and references to authorities, a glossary of Turkish words and an excellent Bibliography.

The stones of the Seraglio cry out and tell the strange story of the Turkish autocracy, its political glory and its heartless cruelty. "The gradual seclusion of majesty and of women, the eunuch and guard system with all its implied social intricacies, pomp and richness, the sense of relentless power and authority—a combination of Byzantine, Persian and Roman ideas of power—are all there. One sees in passing the simple and democratic Turkish ruler of the Brusa period being transformed into the Great Emperor of the Near East, the successor of the Cæsars." But the hands of the clock moved forward. Old Turkey is dead, never to be resurrected. The Grand Seraglio was abandoned in 1853.

"Since the definitive removal of Sultan Abd ul-Mejid to Beshiktash no sultan has ever lodged in the Grand Seraglio, with the exception of Sultan Abd ul-Aziz, who is said, by his own request, to have spent the six intervening nights between his deposition and his death in the suite of Kiusem Sultan. Coincident with its abandonment as the seat of government and abode of the sultans, and with the metamorphosis of the Old Palace into the Ministry of War, the Grand Seraglio in its turn became the 'Palace of Tears.' Here dwelt the discarded harems of the dead sultans until, following the deposition of Abd ul-Hamid II, the Young Turk government decreed their dispersal, and with startling modernity, advertised in the newspapers for the relatives of the unhappy women long immured within its walls. The motley procession of flotsam and jetsam which passed through its portals at this time must have been not the least strange and not the least moving of the many spectacular scenes enacted in the palace during the centuries. With their passing the Grand Seraglio ceased entirely to be a royal abode. In April, 1924, it ceased also to be royal domain, when it was attached to the administration of the museums of Stambul, and thereby formally declared the property of the Turkish Republic." Z.

Harūnū'l-Rashid and Charles the Great. By F. W. Buckler, Professor of Church History in the Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin College. Cambridge, Mass., 1931. pp. vii + 64. Price $2.25.

That the Mediæval Academy of America should list this book, one of its monographs, under the title "Harūnū" etc., may not be so difficult to explain in view of the little knowledge of Arabic possessed by the Academy, but how a learned society would publish a monograph without an index is incomprehensible.

Though not an Arabist, the author has made intelligent use of the Arabic sources in translation and of the Latin sources in his study of the Franco-'Abbāsid relations during the early part of the ninth century. He accepts as a historical fact the exchange of ambassadors and presents, which have been doubted by certain scholars. His readers will find in the book a useful summary of the points at issue and a good bibliography. But the argument from an admittedly historical novel written in Cairo in the latter part of the nineteenth century by Jamīl Nakhlah al-Mudawwar (and not "Jamīl Nakhlī Mudawwar" p. 25, nor "Jamīlu'l-Mudawwar Nakhla" p. 63) can have no weight in itself unless we go back to the sources used in its composition. Nor does the design on the *pallium* of St. Cuthbert as reproduced on p. 53 seem to be a Kufic script. To the reviewer the pattern looks like a decorative motif and nothing else. Even the transcription made underneath by Professor Buckler does not exactly read, as he intends it to read: *la ilāh illa Allāh.* The two sentences quoted in the original Arabic (pp. 17, 59) are both misquoted. Among the many mistakes in transliteration the following may be cited as illustrations: "Ṣumaīl" (p. 5, l. 9) = Ṣumayl, "'Alā" (p. 8, ll. 18, 21, etc.) = 'Alā', "Maqrīzī" (p. 17, n. 1, etc.) = Maqrīzī, "Makkārī" (p. 18, n. 3, etc.) = Maqqarī, "Mā'mūn" (p. 40, l. 24, n. 4) = Ma'mūn.

Princeton University. PHILIP K. HITTI.

Le Monde Musulman et Byzantin jusqu' aux Croisades. By Gaudefroy-Demombynes and Platonov, S. F. Histoire du Monde, Tome VII. E. de Boccard, Paris, 1931. pp. 591. 50 fr.

This volume is a very comprehensive work. It begins with a general introduction treating the period of the Huns (4th to 6th century), Byzantium and China. The first part of the volume is devoted to the Mohammedan world. A chapter discusses pre-Islamic Arabia, and another, Mohammed and the Koran; then follows a history of the caliphate through the Abbaside period to the eleventh century. The chapter on the enemies of the caliphate closes with the important, though well-known, statement that the Mohammedan Orient preserved Greek culture for the Mediterranean world and thus contributed to the renaissance in Europe. The second part of the book deals with the Byzantine world from the seventh to the eleventh century; Christian Russia is the theme of the third part. HENRY S. GEHMAN.

Paterson of Hebron, "The Hakim": Missionary Life in the Mountain of Judah. By W. Ewing, M.C., D.D. James Clarke & Co., London. pp. 256; 8/6 net. Second edition.

This is a great story, well told, full of romance and of the faith and chivalry that captivates the reader. The subject of the biography,

born in 1863, is still living and we are told in the preface that "he yielded reluctantly" to this vindication and interpretation of his work which passed through a storm of criticism in the later years of his distinguished career as a medical missionary.

At first Dr. Alexander Paterson labored in Arabia, in the pioneer days of the Keith Falconer Mission, where he had the tragic experience of caring for rescued Galla slaves, afterwards transferred to Lovedale in South Africa, because many languished and died at Aden. "In a few years some were dead, even in South Africa. Many of the girls were disposed of as domestic servants in colonial households—the one fate from which Dr. Stewart and his staff preserved their Kaffirs at all costs. As the boys matured they were absorbed in the surrounding community. Saved at first as flotsam in the Red Sea, they were cast away at last as jetsam on the sea of South African life which submerged and swallowed them."

Paterson himself lost his health, and after recovery accepted a post under the Mildmay Mission in Hebron in 1893. The remaining chapters of this biography tell of these early days; blood feuds, bribery, murder and open hostility tested his Christian courage and patience. The battle for a hospital site was won and building begun just as the World War began. In penniless desperation, fightings within and fears without, the hero of Hebron stood fast until by action of his committee (then become the Free Church of Scotland) the work at Hebron was transferred to another Society. In May, 1922, Paterson held his last clinic.

"Who that knew Hebron in the old days could have dreamed that these proud, aloof, fanatical men, bitterly contemptuous of Christianity and all its works, would ever be found closeted with the missionary, in eager converse about divine things? . . .

"The news of Paterson's departure from the field, at the very zenith of his powers and usefulness, was heard with dismay by the missionaries in Palestine. They realized that the harvest from his long sowing, humanly speaking, could be reaped and garnered only by himself. Long years of relentless toil, sleepless vigilance, and untiring devotion, had gone to make him what he was, and to give him the place he held in the life, the thought, and affection of the people." Z.

Moeurs et Coutumes des Musulmans. By E. F. Gautier. Payot, Paris. pp. 306. 25 fr.

One who has spent thirty years in contact with the Moslems of North Africa writes with authority and yet, the title of the work does not exactly represent its contents. Its five divisions deal with: Islam in its popular form, the religious history of the Orient including Hellenism and the civilization of the Saracens, with a brief chapter on Islam in the twentieth century. We agree with the statement of Paul Catrice in a review of the book:

"Cette étude de l'Islam, que nous résumons, nous semble contenir à côté d'observations très judicieuses et surtout supérieurement relevées un aperçu d'ensemble bien incomplet. La nécessité de synthétiser et de philosopher a conduit l'auteur à des simplifications des omissions ou exagérations ou à des déformations regrettables. Du Christianisme il néglige simplement l'Incarnation et la Rédemption: autant dire, ce qui est en fait à la fois l'âme et le fond doctrinal." Z.

Missions et Missionnaires. By Georges Goyau. Librairie Bloud and Gay, 1931, Paris. pp. 266.

This interesting volume is one of the series of the Bibliothèque Catholique. In ten chapters we have a summary of the basis, the methods, the history, and the goal of Roman Catholic missions. Beginning with St. Paul and St. Augustine, the writer traces the missionary idea through the Middle Ages, the establishment of the Jesuit Orders, the creation of the Propaganda by Gregory XV to the nineteenth century. Then, we have chapters on the progress of organization at home for the spread of missions abroad. The last chapter is entitled "Pius XI, the missionary Pope." There is an excellent bibliography for each chapter, but, strange to say, no reference is made in the text to Protestant Missions. Z.

India in Crisis. By Arthur Duncan. Putnam, London & N. Y. pp. 271. 5 s.

An up-to-date, connected statement of the story of unrest in India from the time of the National Congress to the Round Table Conferences. It is intended for the general reader and the author is equipped for his task by many years' residence in India in educational and political capacities. His conclusions are that the Indian National Congress does not represent true Indian opinion; that Mr. Gandhi has been overrated and that his program is impractical. "Mr. Gandhi," he says, "is an interesting combination of a strenuous saint and polemical politician, whose mind travels in directions that are unknown even to Einstein." It is doubtful, however, whether the following generalization is not a superficial judgment:

"The subversive and coercive movement which is debauching India's hamlets and destroying the peace of her law-abiding millions masquerades before the world as Indian nationalism. It has no historical background; it appeals to nothing in the traditions of the land; and its followers do not amount, at the most generous estimate, to even two per cent of the population." Z.

Dämonenglaube im Lande der Bibel von Taufik Canaán. (Morgenland, Heft 21) Verlag J. C. Hinrichs, Leipzig, 1929. 64 S. M. 2.70.

For good reason the author, a well-known Christian physician of Arabic nationality in Jerusalem, calls our attention to the fact that the belief in demons in Palestine, which has been fully demonstrated by him by facts, is common property of the Mohammedan world, though the form in each land varies. This makes this publication exceedingly instructive for every missionary among Mohammedans. Amongst the demons, one finds in first line malicious spirits. Some of them have been converted to Islam; these are the good spirits. The malicious spirits came into existence either out of fire or they may be the souls of the departed or even cast-out angels. A minute description of the life and sphere of action of these demons is given with great professional insight. The Mohammedan fears them, happiness and misfortune is attributed to them, exactly as we find it among primitive races.

G. Simon.

Turkey and Syria Reborn. Sub-title, A Record of Two Years of Travel. By Harold Armstrong. Published by John Lane, The Bodley Head Ltd., London. pp. 270 with 21 Illustrations and a Sketch Map. 15 shillings.

The book describes mostly external, physical conditions in these two countries and in this sense it has missionary interest. The sub-title more truly fits its contents than the main one. One expects of a rebirth fresh vigor, new life, but the author has not penetrated beyond externals to the intellectual, not to say spiritual forces at work in these lands. He seems to have lacked one essential qualification for this, viz., sympathy. Here is one of his statements: "for from Alexandretta to Alexandria, whether they be Arabs, Syrians, Jews, Levantines or Egyptians, these tradesmen of the coast have not one virtue, not one lovable characteristic, mental, moral or physical." One wonders with whom this man consorted to warrant such a denunciation. He is a little more kindly toward the Turks, though of them he can say "there was no change of heart, no urge, no faith, no new spiritual drive." The two years of travel were spent as member of the Commission of Assessment of War Damage. As such he covered areas not unknown, but his accounts of economic conditions are useful and his descriptions of scenery good. F. J. BARNY.

Einführung in die Religionsgeschichte. By Dr. Anton Anwander. Verlag Josef Kösel & Friedrich Pustet, München, Germany. pp. 151. M. 3.50.

An admirable brief introduction to the History of Religions by a Roman Catholic writer. The outline of the book is suggestive of its character and conclusions. In brief chapters we have a sketch of the foundation and definition of religion, the doctrine of God, the principle of evil, the future life, the world around us as revealer of the unseen, the channels of communication with the life beyond, spiritual fellowship, and revelation. The bibliography is full and the treatment everywhere suggestive. Z.

Les Conversions: Compte Rendu de la huitième Semaine de Missiologie de Louvain (1930). Editions du Museum Lessianum, 11, Rue des Récollets, Louvain. pp. 272.

This is one of the series of publications issued by *des Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus* of Louvain. It contains the papers and discussions presented at the Missionary Conference held at Louvain in August, 1930. They are all in French with the exception of one in the Dutch language and one in English. As an account of the psychology of Conversion on the mission field from the Roman Catholic standpoint, the book is of great interest. There are papers on the conversion of primitives, of Buddhists, Hindus, on the influence of children by the conversion of their parents, on the direct and indirect approach to non-Christians, on the place of the devotional life as the means of conversion, and on the Catholic theory in contrast with the Protestant theory of conversion. The chapter to which we call special attention is by Père Foca of North Africa entitled *Les Inconvertissables ou le Bloc Musulman.* He states his thesis in an opening paragraph as follows:

"L'Islam fait bloc et semble réfractaire au Christianisme. Depuis quinze siècles il est resté immuable, malgré l'action du temps et des

évènements, pendant que d'autres peuples changeaient de religion, que des nations passaient du paganisme au Christianisme, d'une secte chrétienne à une autre secte chrétienne, et même du Christianisme à l'Islam. Telle population musulmane auprès de laquelle travaillent les missionnaires depuis plus de cinquante ans, avec la meilleure bonne volonté, reste impénétrable au Christianisme."

The discussion of the theme is characteristic. It points out the chief hindrance in the Law of Apostasy, quoting freely from Zwemer's book on that subject. A deeper reason, however, is alleged to be the lack of faith in the Christian church. The work is not hopeless and there have been results in the most difficult fields.

"Je n'ai à donner aucune indication sur ce qu'il y aurait à faire ou à ne pas faire dans les diverses circonstances: je n'avais comme but que de souligner les principaux obstacles à la conversion des musulmans dans le passé et dans le présent et à expliquer dans quelle mesure le bloc musulman est inconvertissable. "Mitte, Domine, operarios in messem tuam." A. GAILLARD.

Une Enigme Missionnaire: Les destinées de l'Eglise Chrétienne dans l'Afrique de Nord. By H. Rusillon. Société des Missions Evangeliques, 102 Boulevard Arago, Paris, 1931. pp. 160. fr. 7.50.

The sub-title introduces the reader to the contents of this most interesting study. It is published on the occasion of the Centenary of the French occupation of Algeria. The author gives a historical sketch of twenty-five centuries of history in North Africa. In a succession of word pictures he tells of the old Roman civilization, the Christian conquest and decline, and the victory of Islam. In the later chapters there is a sketch of present-day Protestant and Catholic missionary effort. The illustrations are numerous and excellent, and there is a good map showing all the stations of the Protestant Missions. Z.

Islam und Christentum im Mittelalter: Beiträge zur Geschichte der Muslimischen Polemik gegen das Christentum in Arabischer Sprache. By Dr. Erdmann Fritsch. Verlag Müller & Seiffert, Breslau, 1930. pp. 157. 10M.

This monograph is Band XVII of the special studies in historical theology published by the University of Breslau. It was prepared as a thesis for the Philosophical Faculty under Dr. Brockelmann and is based on the earlier literature especially: M. Steinschneider's *Polemische und apologetische Literatur in Arabischer Sprache* (1877); J. Goldziher's *Uber muhammedanische Polemik gegen Ahl-al-Kitāb* (1878), and P. A. Palmieri's *Die Polemik des Islam* (1902).

The book consists of two parts; the first gives a sketch of thirteen controversial writers, two of them anonymous, from A. D. 820 to 1415. The outstanding names in the list are *Al-Hāshimi, 'Ali Ibn-Rabban at-Tabarī, al-Jāhiz, Ibn-Hazm, Ibn-Taimīja.*

The second part deals with the subjects of controversy, which have always been practically the same, namely, the alleged corruption of the Bible, the prophecies regarding Mohammed in the Scriptures, the Trinity, Christology, the Death of Christ, and certain features of the Christian cult, ritual and ethics. Dr. Fritsch shows mastery of the subject and the book is invaluable to the student of Islam and Missions. Z.

Die Welt des Islams. Zeitschrift für die Entwicklungsgeschichte des Islams besonders in der Gegenwart. Herausgegeben von Professor Dr. G. Kampffmeyer.

Contains in its 12th Volume, 3rd number, issued in May, 1931 (Publ. by the *Deutschen Gesellschaft für Islamkunde, Arthur Colligmon, Berlin N. W. 7, Universitätsstrasse 2*) the biography of the famous Russian Oriental scholar W. Barthold (1869–1930), who has been the best expert on the history of middle-Asia. This number at the same time gives an excellent account of the labors of Russian Orientalists. Number 4 of the same volume furnishes us with a Turkish calendar of history up to 1930 by G. Täschke, that makes it possible to follow up the political development of the Turkish empire, right to the end of March, 1931. This number provides us with very many and most interesting particulars. Valuable material for understanding the Islam of our day is found here. G. Simon.

The International City of Tangier. By Graham H. Stuart. Stanford University Press, Stanford University, California, 1931. (London, Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press.)

After sketching the history of Tangier under Portuguese, Spanish, English, and Moroccan rule, the author traces the development of a system of international control which grew out of extraterritorial privileges granted to Europeans by Moroccan sultans. Consuls and ministers of the Powers resided at Tangier and not only administered law for their own nationals but also cooperated in establishing necessary public health and light-house services. When the *Entente Cordiale* of 1904 led to the partition of Morocco between France and Spain, Germany's dissatisfaction called forth the Algeciras Conference of 1906, where British desire to prevent the establishment of a strong power at Tangier—potentially a second Gibraltar—resulted in the promise of an international régime for that city. An organic statute had been agreed upon by 1913, but its application was postponed until after the war, when a new settlement was negotiated in 1924 by France, England and Spain. Italy, whose request to participate in drafting this was denied, refused to recognize it and in 1928 forced a revision. The result is an international government which recognizes the sovereignty of the Moroccan sultan, who is a puppet controlled by France. The Consuls-General of the Powers, constituted as a Committee of Control, appoint the members of an Assembly which appoints an Administrator and legislates for the 200 square miles and 70,000 inhabitants of the internationalized territory. Professor Stuart concludes that the Powers have not only imposed "a governmental machine extensive enough for a great state upon a small municipality" but have also burdened it with an enormous debt and determined in advance the nationality of each important official. "Having brought an international city into existence," they ought, in his opinion "to have assumed the responsibility of making reasonable provision for its nourishment" by allowing the privileges of a free port and of self-government. But the guiding motive of European policy has been entirely selfish. Only the jealousy of rivals made possible the present arrangement, and the welfare of Tangier was the least important consideration. It is to be regretted that many obscure Arabic terms are unexplained, that the index is rudimentary,

and that there is no usable map. Yet the book is a competent and well-documented study which deserves the serious attention of students of international affairs.

Princeton University. W. L. WRIGHT, JR.

Mahomedanism. By Basanta Coomar Bose, M.A. The Book Co., Ltd., Calcutta, India, 1931. pp. 170; 2/8.

This volume invites criticism because it professes to be a treatise on Mohammedanism and a comparison of Christianity and Islam by one who is evidently a Hindu. His authorities are antiquated, his method of treatment fragmentary, and his conclusions not always in agreement. But the first sentence in the preface disarms the critics and we can only congratulate the aged writer on so fine a piece of work under the circumstances.

"Two years ago, when I was past seventy-eight years of age, I published my work on Christianity. Today I publish my work on Mahomedanism. The reader will pardon all defects in this book considering my extreme old age and my partial blindness." Z.

Theosophy: A Modern Revival of Ancient Wisdom. By Alvin Boyd Kuhn. Henry Holt & Co., N. Y. pp. 381. $3.00.

This purports to be a faithful account of Madame Blavatsky's life and the founding of the Theosophical Society. The story is not thinned out to make it credible to skeptics. In spite of the fact that the author has been an earnest student of his subject for years, the work is uncritical. If in connection with this account one reads the chapter on Theosophy by Farquhar in "Modern Religious Movements in India," especially the appendix, it is difficult not to agree with the report of Mr. Hodgson made in 1885 in the proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research, that Madame Blavatsky "was one of the most accomplished, ingenious and interesting impostors in history."

In view of the fact that theosophy is now organized in more than forty countries, and is said to have 10,000 followers in America with an active and unscrupulous press, this volume deserves attention. In the words of the author: "Dr. Besant, still a prominent figure, is advancing into the eighties, and Mr. Leadbeater, too, is aging. What direction the course of future Theosophic activity will take when these two dominant figures have been withdrawn, is matter for current speculation. Their policies have alienated some of the staunchest early adherents of Madame Blavatsky and Judge. Already certain trends are discernible which indicate the setting in of a back-to-Blavatsky movement within the ranks of the Theosophical Society." Z.

The Partition of Turkey: A Diplomatic History, 1913–1923. By Harry N. Howard. University of Oklahoma Press, 1931. pp. 486. $5.00.

In 1914 there was published at Paris an interesting historical study by T. G. Djuvara entitled "Cent Projets de partage de la Turquie 1281–1914." This work may well be considered a supplement to that history of the partition of the Ottoman Empire whose break-up was one of the most significant results of the World War. Dr. Howard, formerly of the University of Oklahoma, is now assistant professor of History at Miami University, Florida. He has studied and traveled

extensively in Europe and the Balkan States, and shows a first-hand acquaintance with his subject. Beginning with the Balkan Wars and the partition of the Ottoman Empire in 1913, he traces the entrance of Turkey into the war, its results and the checkered diplomatic battle which concluded with the Treaty of Lausanne in 1923, when Turkey won her right to come back into Europe as an independent state. In addition to three excellent maps and nearly one hundred pages of notes, there is a select bibliography and a table of significant dates from 1058 to 1930. Count Carlo Sforza, an Italian diplomat, writes:

"Doctor Howard's book is more than an important impartial contribution to the history of European relations with Turkey. To a European reader who has been active in almost all of the events of these chapters of contemporary history, Doctor Howard's pages bring an impression of impartiality rarely to be found even among the historians who most honestly desire to eliminate their national complexes." Z.

Arabien: Eine landeskundliche Skizze. By Dr. Walter Lesch. Druck der Graphischen Kunstanstalt A. Huber, München, Germany. pp. 153.

This reprint from the proceedings of the Geographical Society of Munich consists of a two-fold study of the Arabian Peninsula. The first part is entitled "Nature" (pp. 11–72) and deals with the geography, the climate, the flora and the fauna. The second part entitled "Man" describes the Arab in his environment, his race, his religion, his social, economic and political life (pp. 77–136). Every important statement in this unique monograph is documented by references to a Bibliography of the books and articles that have appeared on Arabia since 1901. A most useful handbook for study and reference. Z.

The Reformed Doctrine of Predestination. By Professor Loraine Boettner. Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., Grand Rapids, Michigan, 1932. pp. 431. $3.00.

We call attention to this theological study because of a special chapter in which there is an excellent comparison between the doctrine of Predestination as held by Moslems and that of Calvinism. Conservative, scholarly, fairly well documented, the book is an interesting and convincing statement of the Reformed faith. There are some misprints, the bibliography is altogether incomplete, and there is no index. Z.

Le Maroc: Seventh edition, Entièrement revue et mise à jour avec cartes hors texte. By Augustin Bernard. Librairie Felix Alcan, 108 Boulevard Saint-Germain, Paris, 1931. pp. 480. 60 fr.

A book on Morocco which has passed through six editions and is now published in final, revised form merits attention. The author has written a score of other books dealing with North Africa, and is professor of "Géographie-et-Colonisation de l'Afrique du Nord à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris." In five sections the work deals with geography, history, the economic and social life of the people, and the entrance of Europeans upon the scene. After tracing the history of Morocco, immediately before and since the War, the final section, consisting of four chapters, tells of present-day administration. The book has an analyzed table of contents but no index. The work of Christian Missions,

Catholic and Protestant, is ignored. Most appropriately, the final chapter gives not only an inventory of what has been accomplished, but a program for the future. "L'essentiel, comme l'a dit M. Ribot, c'est qu'une puissance européenne étant à Alger et à Tunis, une autre puissance européenne ne soit pas à Fès. La plus grande richesse du Maroc, c'est cette population Berbère, dont il importait à un si haut point que la France fût l'initiatrice: l'Afrique du Nord est pour notre race, a dit le maréchal Lyautey, ce qu'est le Far-West pour l'Amérique, c'est-à-dire le champ par excellence de l'énergie, du rajeunissement et de la fécondité." Z.

Le Maroc. By Jean Célérier. Librairie Armand Colin, 103 Boulevard Saint-Michel, Paris, 1931. pp. 216. fr. 10.50.

It would be hard to find within so small a compass a better description of Morocco, its geography, ethnography, and present resources than we have here. The bibliography of Morocco is perhaps more extensive than that of any part of Africa. The exhaustive work on the subject by Playfair (London, 1892) has been supplemented by a whole series of important books since that date. The little book before us falls into two parts, of which the first deals with the native population and the life of the people, while the second part describes the European occupation and the process of industrialization. Z.

Come with me to India! A Quest for Truth among Peoples and Problems. By Patricia Kendall. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1931. pp. 467. $3.50.

The sub-title indicates both the attitude and the purpose of the writer. It is a quest for truth; and what is truth? It is difficult today to tell the whole truth about India. The picture is too large for any canvas; the colors are too deep, and the motion too kaleidoscopic for black and white reproduction. Nevertheless, the author has done her best. In 450 dramatic pages Mrs. Kendall has achieved an authoritative elucidation of the racial, geographical, and religious history of seething India, as well as all that has happened, and is happening, under British rule. Unlike "Mother India," this book is not confined to a few phases of Indian life. It comprises a startling re-examination of India's past and present and charges Mahatma Gandhi with opportunism and with fostering Hindu "mysticism", which, the author shows, has by infanticide, child marriage, suttee, phallic worship, and caste made India degenerate.

There are two or three chapters that deal with the mosaic of Mohammedanism and the power of this great minority. Generally written in excellent style, the book is a good antidote to those who have idealized the Indian National Movement. There are some astonishing blunders, as where we read that "Moslems have a prevalent tradition that Mohammed was born of a man."

A full bibliography and an excellent index should be noted. Z.

Harem Life. By Princess Djavidan Hanum. Noel Douglas, London, 1931. pp. 335. 8/6 net.

This intriguing volume gives a somewhat sensational account of Harem life in old Turkey, modern Egypt and Stamboul. The author is the ex-wife of Abbas Hilmi, II, former Khedive of Egypt. She was

born in Philadelphia, the child of a Hungarian count and countess. When she married the Khedive she became a Mohammedan. We have, therefore, an inside picture. The lights and shadows are skilfully drawn but there is not enough background to make the picture altogether real. Her knowledge of Islam is partial and distorted, but her indignation is genuine, and her disgust with the low ideals of Islam in the treatment of womanhood convincing. "The arbitrary possession of women solved all problems of succession and inheritance. Children were divided into different categories—to be born or not to be born—just as the harem accounts were kept in double entry, a life and a death account."

"Nor is it remarkable that the Osman sultans sprang upon the throne like wild animals, and that once on the throne they continued to behave like wild animals, when it is remembered that they were prepared like bulls for a bull-fight, by long years of the darkness and stillness of an unnatural imprisonment."

The description of Yildiz in the days of Abd-ul-Hamid fortunately refers to the past: "The Shadow of God dwelt in the white town of Yildiz—the Star—inside high walls where bodyguards protected him. Every strand of a vast net of intrigue that bound his subjects in helpless captivity was held in his hands. There was no escape from the finely woven tissue, not a single defective mesh through which a prisoner might slip, for the strong threads of the net stretched over the whole country and made an elastic prison that grew big or small according to the capricious will of the master. There was no resisting the mysterious fisherman, for his office as caliph proved that his rights were confirmed by God. Those who should have guarded religion most closely were among his tools, for he had issued an order that only the sultan in person or a priest chosen by him might celebrate the mysteries of the faith. All lay entangled in the net, even the slender towers of the minarets and the shining cupolas of the mosques were caught in its meshes."

A CORRECTION

The publishers of "Amulets and Superstitions" reviewed in our January issue (p. 88) are the Oxford University Press, New York. We regret the omission in publishing the review.

"Bible Characters in the Koran" is published at Paisley, Scotland by Alexander Gardner, Ltd.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

I. GENERAL.

Chinese—Moslem Chronology. Isaac Mason. (*Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society,* Shanghai. Vol. LXII, 1931, pp. 117-119.)

Gives the probable explanation of the Chinese Moslem antedating by some twenty-three years the dates of Mohammed's birth and of the Hegira, from which has resulted much chronological confusion.

Colons et Indigènes. Jules Declercq. (*En Terre d'Islam,* Algers. Nov.-Dec., 1931. pp. 339-352.)

Discusses the question of how the European Christian land-owners in Algeria regard the native Arab agricultural workers there; a plea for the recognition of human values in races other than our own.

Drei Islamische Bronzespiegel. E. Bräunlich. (*Islamica,* Leipzig. Vol. V., fasc. 2, 1931. pp. 133-164.)

A description of three beautiful pieces of twelfth century Arabic bronze work, with plates, and a discussion of the significance of the encircling inscriptions.

An Early Arabian Author on the Indian System of Medicine. M. Z. Siddiqi. (*The Calcutta Review,* Calcutta. Nov.-Dec., 1931. pp. 277-283.)

A critical examination of "The Paradise of Wisdom," a compendium written in Arabic in 850 A. D. by Abu Sahl 'Abi b. Rabban, teacher of the famous physician of the Middle Ages, al-Rází.

The Heritage of Western Asia. Martin Sprengling. (*The Open Court,* Chicago. January, 1932. pp. 4-72. The New Orient Society Monograph Series No. 1.)

Surveys in a general way the great changes which are taking place in the new Orient (especially in the western sections of it), outlining in turn its heritage of nature, its heritage of man-made things, and its human heritage.

Malaya at the Cross-Roads. George Bilainkin. (*The Contemporary Review,* London. Dec., 1931. pp. 749-756.)

Indicates the internal confusion due to the conglomeration of tiny kingdoms, and to the great proportion in the total area of non-Malay residents; and points out the increasing pressure for

control exerted by the astonishingly and disproportionately large number of Chinese immigrants.

THE MUSLIMS OF SOUTH-EAST EUROPE. Ernest M. Hoppe. (*World Dominion,* London. January, 1932. pp. 63-66.)

The first instalment of an extended study. This section treats of the Muslims in Albania.

EIN TÜRKISCHER SCHIFFSFERMAN FÜR EIN PREUSSISCHES SCHIFF AUS DEM JAHRE 1835. Helmuth Scheel. (*Islamica.* Leipzig. Vol. V., fasc. 2, 1931. pp. 165-177.)

Text and translation of a ship's license, found in the archives of Stettin, probably the earliest such an one issued to a Prussian ship, and given to the Stettin trading brig "Wilhelmine Henriette."

ZUR STAMBULER VOLKS—UND GAUNERSPRACHE. Franz Steinherr. (*Islamica,* Leipzig. Vol. V., fasc. 2, 1931. pp. 178-197.)

An alphabetical list of idiomatic and slang phrases, with translations, in so far as possible accompanied by reference to the authorities for etymological derivations.

II. ISLAM IN ARABIA.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM.

EMPEROR MUHAMMAD SHAH AND HIS COURT. Sir Jadunath Sarkar. (*The Modern Review,* Calcutta. December, 1931. pp. 609-615.)

Character sketches explaining in part the rapid downfall of the Mughal empire after Nadir Shah's invasion.

IV. KORAN, TRADITIONS, THEOLOGY.

AN-NAGM, SURE 55,5. A. Fischer. (*Islamica,* Leipzig. Vol. V., fasc. 2, 1931. pp. 198-210.)

A scholarly and detailed philological discussion.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE.

CE QUE L'ON VOIT EN TURQUIE. Elif Bey. (*En Terre d'Islam,* Algers. Nov.-Dec., 1931. pp. 379-382.)

Shows how underneath the superficial Westernization the old-time instinct and mentality of the Turk are at work, nullifying for non-Mohammedans the apparent liberality of the new laws.

L'ISLAM ET LES TRIBUS DANS LA COLONIE DU NIGER. (2e série). P. Marty. (*Revue des Études Islamiques,* Paris. 193, cahier II. pp. 139-240.)

Deals with the oases of Bilma, Aney, Yat, and Djado, and the mountainous region formerly known as the subdivision of the Tibesti; and studies the people, their religious beliefs, education, and the influence of Islam in the social and juridical domains.

L'ISLAM ET SON DESTIN. (*L'Afrique Française,* Paris. Renseignements Coloniaux. Décembre, 1931. pp. 694-698.)

A detailed and brilliant discussion of E. F. Gautier's book: "Moeurs et Coutumes des Musulmans."

PERSIAN WOMEN WINNING THROUGH. By A Persian Woman (Miss E. N. Aidin). (*World Dominion,* London. January, 1932. pp. 60-62.)

Indicates the changing standards directly affecting women, especially those relating to marriage and divorce.

REASONS FOR EXERCISING THE FIVE ARTICLES OF THE MOHAMMEDAN FAITH. Ma Ahung. (*The Chinese Recorder,* Shanghai. January, 1932. pp. 42-45.)

A lecture given at the North China Union Language School, maintaining that the most urgent need of the world at the present time is to have religion brought to the hearts of men; and outlining briefly the five fundamentals of Mohammedanism which, added to Christianity, would produce a full religion.

UNE RÉFORME DU STATUT DE LA FEMME KABYLE. Louis Milliot. (*L'Afrique Française,* Paris. Renseignements Coloniaux. December, 1931. pp. 681-686.)

Outlines certain recent legislation relative to marriage and divorce which gives to the native woman of Kabylia a much greater chance than heretofore for justice in the law courts.

LES TRIBUNAUX RELIGIEUX ISLAMIQUES ET LES AFFAIRES DE DIVORCE ENTRE CHRÉTIENS, EN ÉGYPTE. Al-Massarat. (*En Terre d'Islam,* Algers. Sept.-Oct., 1931. pp. 316-320.)

A discussion of the recent decree in Egypt, which forbids Mohammedan courts to pronounce a divorce between two non-Mohammedans whose own religion does not permit such action.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS.

EGYPT; CRISIS AND CAPITULATIONS. E. W. Polson Newman. (*The Contemporary Review,* London. January, 1932. pp. 42-48.)

The present severe economic depression in Egypt would seem to demand some radical change in the fiscal policy of the Government; and the fairest, as well as the most obvious, move would apparently be to tax that great number of foreigners who are now immune from taxation, but who in their trading and business, profit by the stability of the Government.

THE GRECO-TURKISH FRIENDSHIP. William Miller. (*The Contemporary Review,* London. December, 1931. pp. 718-725.)

Shows how reasonable and how popular is the change in the traditional policy of the two countries as seen in the recent visit to Athens of the Prime Minister and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Turkey.

MUSLIMS IN THE NEW INDIA. Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khan. (*The Asiatic Review,* London. January, 1932. pp. 1-14.)

A discussion of the fundamental safeguards demanded by the Moslem community, with the reasons therefor.

RÉORGANISATION ÉGYPTIENNE DE LA "JUSTICE DU CHRÂA." L. Mercier. (*Review des Études Islamiques,* Paris. 1931, cahier II. pp. 125-137.)

An analysis of the law passed in 1931 limiting the power of the one-judge courts, and definitely laying down rules of procedure.

VII. MISSIONS TO MOHAMMEDANS.

CHRIST AND THE WORLD OF ISLAM. Samuel M. Zwemer. (*Missionary Review of the World,* New York. January, 1932. pp. 34-37.)

What are the present-day challenges of Islam to Christianity, and what is the present-day response to them?

LILIAS TROTTER OF ALGIERS. Constance E. Padwick. (*International Review of Missions,* London. January, 1932. pp. 119-128.)

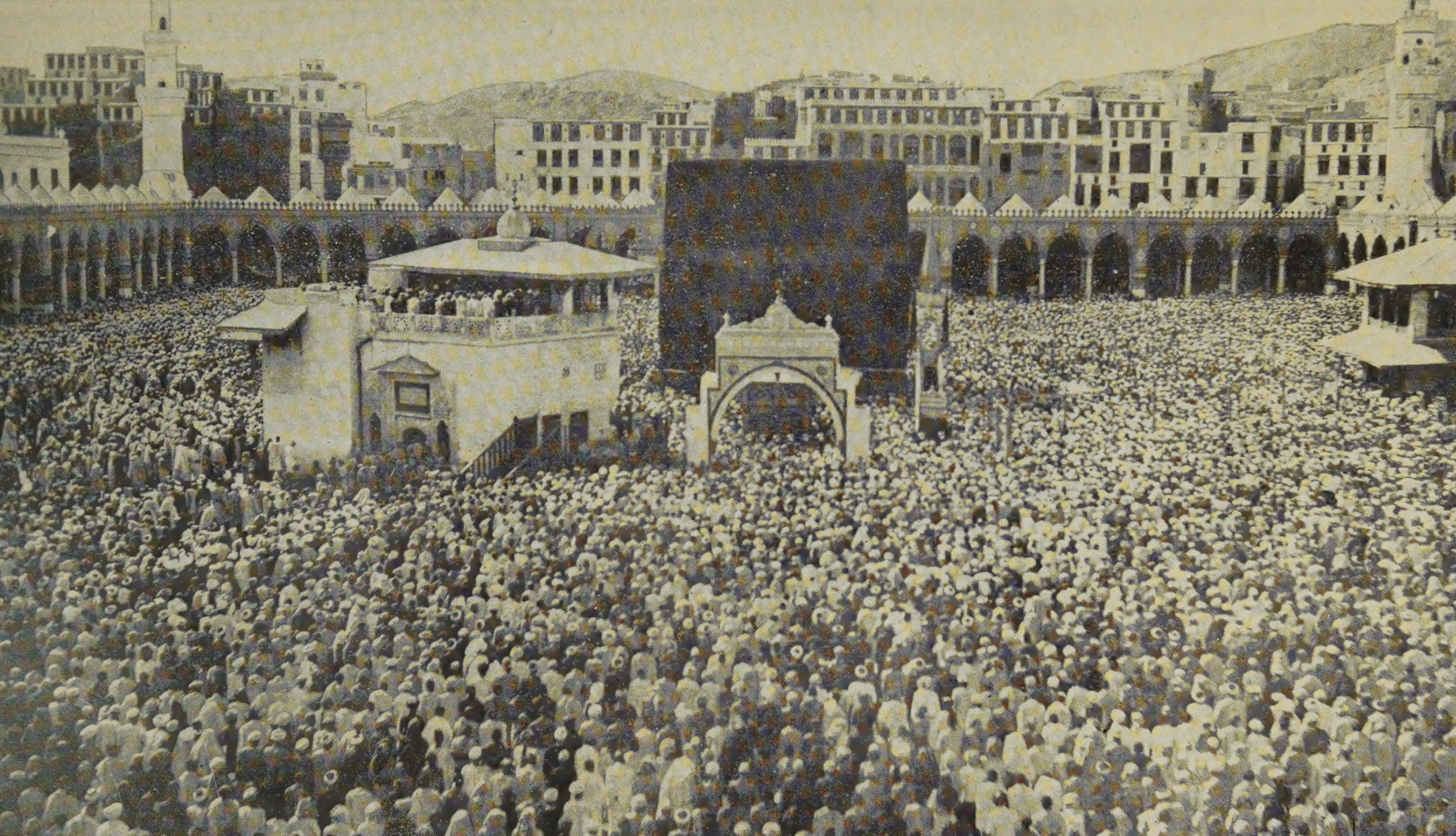
"Not a biography, but an effort to share an experience of rare spiritual quality."

SYRIAN COMPLEXITIES. James H. Nicol. (*World Dominion,* London. January, 1932. pp. 54-59.)

Shows how intimately all political and administrative procedure is built on religious institutions, with the complications resulting from this in any effective work of evangelism in the country.

WHY IS ARABIA STILL NEGLECTED? Samuel M. Zwemer. (*Missionary Review of the World,* New York. February, 1932. pp. 105, 106.)

A plea for more extensive work in the peninsula, which would seem to be more penetrated by modern conveniences than by the Gospel.



FRIDAY PRAYERS DURING THE HAJJ AT MECCA

The Kaaba with its multitude of worshippers as seen from Bab-al-Nabi (circa 1924).